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Education and Retirement

AN ENQUIRY INTO THE RELEVANCE OF EDUCATION
TO THE ENJOYMENT OF LEISURE IN LATER LIFE

BRIAN GROOMBRIDGE

THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF ADULT EDUCATION
(ENGLAND AND WALES)

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National Institute of Adult Education

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I have been asked, as Chairman of the Working Party associated with this Report, and on behalf of the National Institute of Adult Education, to write this brief foreword and to make certain necessary acknowledgments.

The National Institute agreed in 1957 to initiate, with financial assistance from the Nuffield Foundation, an enquiry with the terms of reference indicated in the Summary which prefaces the main body of the Report. In undertaking this task, the Institute was fortunate in securing the services of Mr Brian Groombridge as a full-time research assistant and his name properly appears on the title page as the principal author of the Report. Mr Groombridge was guided by a working party, the names of whose members appear after this foreword: the members are not necessarily committed individually to all the opinions expressed, but the Institute gratefully recognizes the invaluable assistance which they afforded. It is particularly conscious of its debt to Mr F. Le Gros Clark who has contributed unstintedly from his exceptional knowledge of the field under review, and materially assisted the Secretary of the Institute in preparing the report for publication.

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F. S. MILLIGAN

THE ADVISORY COMMITTEE

The following were invited by the National Institute of Adult Education (England and Wales) to serve as a working party in connection with the enquiry, and the Institute records its deep indebtedness to them :

CHAIRMAN : F. S. MILLIGAN, O.B.E., M.C., M.M.
formerly Secretary of the National Federation of Community Associations.

MEMBERS : B. S. BRAITHWAITE, M.A.
Chief Education Officer, Sussex (East).

F. LE GROS CLARK, M.A.
Research Worker in industrial gerontology
for the Nuffield Foundation.

F. W. JESSUP, M.A., LL.B., F.S.A.
Secretary, Oxford University Delegacy for
Extra-Mural Studies.

MISS C. McCALL,
formerly Warden of Denman College
(Resigned from the Working Party in
December, 1958).

W. A. SANDERSON,
Secretary, United Kingdom and British
Commonwealth Branch, Gulbenkian Founda-
tion ; Chairman, Preparation for Retirement
Committee, National Old People's
Welfare Council.

THE COMMITTEE

J. TRENAMAN, B.LITT.

Granada Fellow, Television Research Unit,
University of Leeds: formerly Further
Education Liaison Officer, B.B.C.

SECRETARY :

E. M. HUTCHINSON, M.A.

Secretary, National Institute of Adult
Education.

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INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY

The terms of reference that decided the form of this enquiry were stated in the Thirteenth Report of The Nuffield Foundation (March 1958). The purpose was to be that of collecting information on the educational facilities that are available to the elderly, on the use made of these facilities, and on the general role played by adult education in helping people to adjust themselves actively to their retirement.

In the lives of most people there come periods we call their moments of leisure ; and in a normal workday world these may be little more than phases of relaxation, a man's opportunity to recover after prolonged effort. We usually feel that people are welcome to spend such leisure as their tastes or their moods direct, provided they do not disturb the rest of others. They may be as idle and as unproductive as they wish, for they will soon be in for another spell of concentrated work.

To most of us, in short, leisure is the limited time that belongs to neither of the two great poles of our existence – the job on which we are employed and the continuous if satisfying demands of family and home. But whenever leisure extends far beyond our accustomed phase of recovery, may it not cease altogether to be 'leisure' as we had known it and become at last a haunting and oppressive vacuum ? Is not Man by nature an energetic, if not indeed, a restless and inquiring animal ? The problem has often arisen with the unemployed. The modern counterpart of the unemployment of the 'thirties may be found in the lives of many people who have retired from daily work. The two great poles of existence have either fallen away completely from them or diminished in importance almost to a vanishing point. If such men remain mobile and competent, as most of them do, their happiness and spiritual stability may depend on what reserves of personal interest they have managed to accumulate over the course of their whole lives.

Certainly there are men and women who seem content to spend their last years in gossiping and meditating and watching the world go by ; no one would venture to dispute their right to do so. But the conventional image of the ageing man who simply enjoys his rest after a lifetime of service is too often a fallacious one. Old age must still have its meaning and its authentic modes of activity.

In approaching our task we found ourselves therefore very conscious of the fact that it is throughout life that a man prepares himself for his period of retirement. Little as he may have been aware of it, this was to be the final outcome of all his pursuits, his interests and his hobbies. If he had wholly 'wasted time' in all his moments of relaxation, time would at last begin surely to waste him. The part he played in industry or commerce had been in great measure pre-determined by his years of schooling ; what he does and what he feels in old age can only body forth the aptitude and interests he has been absorbing into his personality over a lifetime. Impressed by the recognition of this, we decided to embark on as comprehensive a plan of research as our facilities would permit. For all we then knew, a fair proportion of the men and women who attend evening classes and courses of education have the prospect of retirement somewhere at the back of their minds. But for our own satisfaction we had to ascertain how far people are really failing in practice or, perhaps we should say, in elementary forethought for the future. Only when we had before us some reliable facts and statistics, based on an experimental survey of the whole field, could we consider what policy suggestions might emerge. To quote again with emphasis from our terms of reference - 'what is the role played by adult education in helping people to adjust themselves actively to their retirement ?'

To answer this question we had to embrace in our survey not only educational classes and formal courses of instruction, but also any societies the proceedings of which could be deemed to have an educational purpose and content. To what extent, we had to ask, do our contemporaries make use of the opportunities that are offered by all these classes and societies ? Is anything still lacking in provision, and if so how can the deficiencies be remedied ?

The first two chapters of the report depict some of the salient features of our contemporary population structure, examine some preconceptions in the light of recent research and illustrate by

reference to personal histories the different kinds of response that are possible to the fact of retirement and the impact that education may have on them.

In Chapters 3 to 8 the results of Mr Groombridge's special enquiries in certain areas are presented. It is against the background of experiences and attitudes there surveyed that the actual extent of any educational provision for those who have retired or may have their retirement consciously in prospect is examined. Such provision is still relatively small and it has seemed useful to describe specific approaches and to quote case histories and examples drawn from information supplied by different agencies of adult education, old people's clubs etc. We conclude that on the whole organizations that are associated in any way with adult education have only just begun to respond to the needs created among us by the changing age structure of the population. The examples given serve to show that the methods already adopted could now be refined and applied on a wider scale.

POLICY SUGGESTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The implications of the findings of the report for future policy are presented in the light of the claim in the 1919 *Report* that 'adult education is a permanent national necessity, an inseparable aspect of citizenship, and therefore should be both universal and lifelong'. We have continued to give the term *education* the wider connotation we have adopted throughout.

Adult Education throughout Life

1. Previously unexamined experience of pre-war work with unemployed men at Wincham Hall is quoted as evidence that if the education offered a man is of the right quality, it may profoundly affect his attitude towards his own intellectual competence; and it may therefore, we suggest, assist an ageing man to adjust more successfully to his retirement. It can encourage a growing self-respect, just as it did for the social rejects of the 'thirties. Wincham Hall provided a liberal education for men who had been for the most part unaccustomed to any academic discipline.

2. Such an enlarged conception of education in mature life cannot be given practical expression without
 - (a) *the provision of suitable accommodation.* Examples are given to support the claim that where such provision is made it is used ; and the wider the provision, the wider the range of its attraction. The more appropriate the buildings, the better the work they do becomes known to an area.
 - (b) *the recruitment and training of an adequate professional staff.* Figures are presented to show the inadequate ratio of full-time to part-time staff in evening institutes, and it is noted that there are far too many able and admirable people moving into and then out of adult education because it is not a career except for a few in the universities and a handful in the WEA and in residential and non-residential centres.
 - (c) *Greater financial provision.* It is estimated in general terms that an increased national expenditure of £2,000,000 a year would go far to revolutionize the provision of accommodation and trained staff.

Until these basic requirements are met it is mere impertinence to speak of the 'ineducability' of most of our contemporaries once they have reached mature years.

Educative Societies and Occupational Centres

3. It is intrinsic to the purposes and success of educative societies that they arise spontaneously and are run voluntarily. But it should be a community responsibility to ensure that this spontaneous growth is encouraged, not stultified.
4. Official help can be given so as to provide a fruitful alternative to haphazard spontaneity and to provision laid on from above.
5. There is need for specially designed occupational centres or for occupational wings to community and educational centres. If they were available during the day as well as in the evening, they would also help in redeeming the time for the retired and the elderly.

6. Such provision is not alien to official thinking. Its possibility is outlined in the Ministry of Education pamphlet *Evening Institutes* but more than 'hope for the future' is required from the Ministry if the possibility is to be realized.
7. Since it appears from the report that educative societies are largely joined by people who have been stimulated in some way by adult education it is desirable that this important overlap should be recognized in terms of accommodation, staff and subsidy as it already is in some successful Community Centres.

Education for Retirement

8. Direct consideration of the problems of retirement at an age when they are assuming significance is as yet very rare.
9. The growth of industrial pension schemes may offer a natural opportunity to raise the issue of all-round preparation for retirement.
10. The limited experience available suggests that to secure suitable expert advice the planning of courses on retirement is best conceived as a co-operative enterprise.
11. The Preparation for Retirement Sub-Committee of the National Old People's Welfare Council might usefully act as a national advisory centre.
12. Local groups or committees constituted for the purpose should work closely with Local Education Authorities. They should foster the idea of retirement as a time for creation and recreation: they should avoid the conventional idea that service for the ageing is only a kind of 'ambulance operation'.
13. Short-term residential courses on the problems of retirement have been found stimulating experiences. But they are more likely to succeed where the basic purpose of the course has been clearly defined, and it is usually necessary to assure elderly people about the degree of physical comfort and sociability a residential college can provide.
14. Spiritual preparation in old age presents special educational problems. It is the function of the Churches and other religious organizations to give enlightenment and comfort to the convinced believer and the seeker after knowledge. But

it should be the function of adult education to help men and women by presenting them with ideas in a form that will help them to clarify their vision of life and of man's place in the world.

Conclusion and Recommendations

15. There is no suggestion that the various educational influences we have surveyed are the *only* medium within which the human mind can prepare itself to enter the backwaters of retirement and old age. But they are at least the *typical* medium to which men and women must turn for enlargement of interests and of their own personalities. By nature they are sociable affairs: and implicit in them is the broader social outlook. They make the tacit assumption that paid employment is not enough, because it must one day come to an abrupt end; home is not enough, because children must grow and depart and domesticity itself becomes a settled routine; the entertainments into which a man relaxes are not enough, because mind and body are energetic and crave at last for some purposeful occupation. There is an element lacking in it all; and that element is an absorbing personal interest that can grow in strength to fill the inescapable vacuum of old age.

It is the task of education to contribute that element to life in society; in so doing we have necessarily to view life as a *continuum*. Though our contribution is best made early in life, there is no reason why it should not be extended into the years of senescence. Whether the process begins early or late, one thing is abundantly clear. A man's interests or hobbies must have a chance of embodying themselves continuously in creative activity. We have evidence from our survey that the manual worker, when moved to enlarge his mastery over things, more often gravitates towards the manual arts and crafts; and it is well here to remember that for him the borderline between the learning of a handicraft and a study of its science and its history is not as obvious as it appears to many administrators. But the essence of his problem is not the acquisition of some domestic skill or hobby for which he has a taste, but the opportunity of prac-

tising it to his heart's content. No comment is made on the adequacy of the State pension ; it is plain that most retired men have small means for purchasing and replacing tools and materials, let alone gaining access to a work room, a garden or an allotment.

The authentic field of adult education and of 'educative' societies is at present occupied to a disproportionate extent by those who have had fairly prolonged schooling and who come from a background of some responsibility. The far commoner patterns of a 'domestic culture' are complimentary to the less responsible types of industrial work ; and it is these patterns of culture that tend to prove inadequate when employment ceases. For these reasons we venture to recommend :

- (a) that adult education should be transformed from a minority service into a true adjunct of the popular domestic culture : it should be so transformed by enlarging the range of its levels and techniques ; by operating in appropriate settings ; and by basing its work imaginatively on a great variety of interests and needs ;
- (b) that public authorities should encourage educative societies to develop by helping to improve their accommodation and amenities without usurping their management ;
- (c) that the two kinds of educational engagement to which we have referred throughout should be seen as complementary and as capable of being in part developed through the common use of occupational centres open for use by individuals as well as by groups and in particular by retired persons during the day ;
- (d) that a variety of educational agencies should study and improve upon the pre-retirement and in-retirement courses that have already been initiated experimentally ;

- (e) that local Councils of Social Service should go further in co-ordinating aspects of the provision made for old people with emphasis rather on creative and satisfying pursuits than on philanthropic welfare, important as the latter must remain ;
- (f) that because of its 'unique universality' those responsible for broadcasting both of sound and vision should recognize more fully the role they might be playing in the development of education for leisure and retirement.

E. M. HUTCHINSON, *Secretary*
National Institute of Adult Education

I

A TIME TO FEAR OR A TIME TO ENJOY ?

'I'm only hanging on, just hanging on, like this bit of paper.' And he shook a flimsy bit of paper under my nose. 'I'd sooner be at work but if they retire me I suppose I will have to, then I will have to grin and bear it. I don't want to stand on a street corner. What would I do but that ? I'd be worse off in every way if I had to sit at home and look at the old girl all day long. I'd have nothing to do and no money.'

— Mr. Selwyn, as interviewed by
Mr Peter Townsend¹

There are too many people like Mr Selwyn. He was 72, a railway labourer living in Bethnal Green. But there are men in all social classes, regardless of their education or occupation, who have their equivalent of standing on the corner watching the others. Artisans and administrators, manual workers and managers have mostly been educated for work, and have found some satisfaction, self-esteem and sociability in work. For them retirement may be a time to fear.

Mr Kite had already retired. He was 65 and ill-health had made him leave his work as a brewer's labourer two years before. He and his wife told Mr Townsend what it had meant to him :

'The work was too heavy. I went to my doctor and he said that I'd never be able to do any work again. The next week I got the sack.' His wife added, 'That was a day that was. There was him crying and the children up here crying too. They thought he'd done too much.' Mr Kite continued, 'I had the hump. I didn't know what to do. It was like being stuck in the Army detention camp. All I could see were these four walls. I used to go out and see the boys on Saturday evenings. I'd meet my sons-in-law and we'd go out to the pub. [He used to earn £8 of which he gave his wife £5.] Now I can't do it. It's like being a pauper. I had to turn away from that because I didn't have a pound like I did in my pocket. I couldn't stand anybody anything [drinks]. I couldn't do my share.'²

Mr Kite's boredom was increased by the social isolation which

poverty causes. In his study of *The Family Life of Old People* in Bethnal Green, Mr Townsend noted that the higher the income the more confident the outlook, but that 'Even so, they still preferred to be at work, because so few seemed to occupy their time in ways which gave satisfaction . . . Their life became a rather desperate search for pastimes or a gloomy contemplation of their own helplessness, which, at its worst, was little better than waiting to die'.³

The abolition of poverty among the elderly remains an urgent social task but it would not by itself guarantee that retirement was a time to be welcomed. The brewery manager is as likely to feel disorientated and fretful as his labourer, even though he does not have to live on tea and buns or wonder how to pay the coal bill.

The women whom Mr Townsend interviewed were less distressed because they were able to maintain a functional relationship with their children and grandchildren. Nevertheless, the fruitful use of leisure in old age is likely to present more of a problem to women if they continue to marry and to have their children younger; they may well have thirty or more years after motherhood has ceased to make a dominant claim on their time.

There are too few people like Mr Harris, Mr Gibson and Miss Farmer. When it was nearly time for Mr Harris to retire from the railway in 1954, his mates, apprehensive on their own account, asked him if he would look for another job. But Mr Harris had no intention of taking another job; he was looking forward to digging his garden, going to the Darby and Joan Club with his wife, reading, writing, attending classes, and acting as Secretary to an educational club for elderly people. Mr Harris left school in Cumberland at 13. He enlisted in the Army in 1910, and learnt to write letters, to add and subtract. His regiment was posted to Rugby and when he was demobilized in 1919 he decided to stay in the town, and become a railway goods porter.

The war had disillusioned him and, like many of his generation, he had turned away from religion. One day his foreman heard Mr Harris and his friends talking about God. He invited them to take it further by going to the Adult School. The Adult School meetings whetted Mr Harris's appetite. He joined classes run by the Workers' Educational Association. A fortnight's summer school opened his eyes still further to life's possibilities, and the confidence which adult education had fostered in him was transferred to his work.

He became Vice-Chairman of his branch of the National Union of Railwaymen. In the WEA he was encouraged to write, so that when a supervisor's job became vacant he could apply, and was appointed, even though it involved submitting written reports.

An extra-mural class, in which students were expected to learn about contemporary British philosophy by thinking for themselves in the style of Ayer, Wisdom and Ryle, helped him to think better, and a public speaking class gave him more ability to express himself on his feet. He became the secretary and spokesman of the Friday Club, introducing and thanking speakers, reporting meetings to the press. At first the responsibility made him anxious; now he enjoys it: 'It's brought me out. And I'm not so shy now'. Mr Harris is a modest, kind man who continues to discover more about himself and the world; he has an insatiable sense of wonder. Retirement is a time for him to enjoy.

Mr Gibson's story is similar in some respects. He is 77 and well known in his town as a man who was two years an Alderman and ten years a County Councillor. He is still a governor of many schools, though he wants to make room now for younger men. 'An age limit would be a good thing. I don't want to be an old codger.' Mr Gibson was paying a shilling a week for his education when he left the Murray School at 14, and his subsequent biography is in large part the history of adult education in Rugby. He became a grocer's assistant, but he was lucky in choosing the Co-operative store. He was soon transferred to the office and consequently not only attended classes in book-keeping and shorthand but became interested in socialism and industrial history. He learned more through correspondence courses and was inspired by an Oxford Conference organized by Albert Mansbridge to help found the Rugby Workers' Educational Association, of which he became Secretary, and later to help create the Percival Guildhouse, an adult education centre. He still attends extra-mural courses in local history and palaeography, adding to his already considerable stock of knowledge about Rugby, its surrounding villages and its public school. 'I've grown up with the WEA and with the Guildhouse. I wasn't doing all this to prepare for retirement, but I was preparing for it.'

Miss Farmer, on the other hand, prepared deliberately for her retirement by going to Hillcroft College, Surrey (the long-term residential college for women), when she was 60. 'For years,' she

confesses, 'I dreaded retirement. I would be shut in. What should I do? Now, there's not enough time.' She uses a vivid image to describe the transition from those years of anxiety to her present fulfilment: 'I used to feel I was going up the stairs of a tower, with narrow windows in its sides. I would get occasional glimpses of life outside and say: "I used to be interested in that." Then when I went to Hillcroft I could see the whole view from the top of the tower.' The tower was her career in the Ministry of Labour. Glimpses through the windows were provided by four or five short residential courses on history. For some years she was depressed by her inability to read anything more than detective stories, and the futility of whiling away the time with crossword puzzles. At Hillcroft College, 'I was able to read again.' During her year there she studied literature, history and political theory, against a background of the history of art and of western civilization. For relaxation, she painted and learned public speaking. She had never painted before; 'I wasn't much good, but it was great fun. I'm still doing it—at the Hornsey School of Art.'

Though there are too few men and women like these three, they are not so rare as to exemplify an almost impossible ideal. Anyone in adult education (in Evening Institutes as well as in universities or the Workers' Educational Association), can match them from his own experience.

Britain pioneered in social work among the elderly. Forms of welfare provision – improved care of the frail elderly, for instance – have been due not so much to the increasing size of the problem, as to an increased awareness that there was a problem to deal with. The United States has taken the initiative in a new direction; by advocating educational preparation for retirement so that the potentialities of the later years can be realized; this lays emphasis rather on retirement *to* a new kind of purposive life, than on a negative retirement *from* work. People like Mr Selwyn and Mr Kite, and their fellows of both sexes and in all classes, should be enabled, at least, to accept the social demotion of retirement, and at best to overcome positively the effects of the transition. This attitude is well expressed by Clark Tibbits and Henry Sheldon: ⁴

Most older people can and will maintain themselves as self-sufficient members of society once they are given the opportunity. Thus

education, housing, community services, health promotion and rehabilitation, income maintenance, activity programs, and employment counseling are seen as just normal community facilities, as are elementary, secondary and college education, pediatric clinics, vocational counseling, playgrounds, and clubs for children and young adults. They are not to be regarded primarily as welfare services in the sense of ministering to psychologically, medically and financially dependent old people, but rather as part of the environment through which we make normal adjustments to the changes and circumstances of the later years.

Since 1949 a Committee on Education for Aging has been active in the United States, under the auspices of the national organization which became (in 1951) the Adult Education Association of the USA. Other countries have been slower to respond educationally to their demographic revolutions. There were only American contributions to the session on 'Education for Later Maturity' at the Third Gerontological Congress in London (1954). The present Report is the first detailed study of the question in this country.⁵ It is, perhaps, significant of a difference of approach that education for ageing is here seen in a wider context; it is seen as an aspect of continuous education for leisure and adaptation to the changing demands of age. There are Americans who would sympathize with this approach, especially since educationists in the United States have disagreed among themselves about the appropriate age at which education for the later years should begin. In the course of the debate the right age to start has been pushed back earlier and earlier until it seems that preparation for retirement must begin in the primary school.

The inability to answer the question 'When to start?' has led Professor Cyril O. Houle to say that it is unanswerable because it is unreal. According to Professor Houle's gloss on Cicero's *De Senectute*,⁶ there is no education for retirement: there is only education that will, if it is any good, equip its recipients for later maturity. This is to over-simplify the problem; the question is difficult to answer because it has been wrongly stated. It should be replaced by another: *What kinds of education, in what skills and aptitudes, will enable a person to live happily in retirement, and at what ages should these phases of education begin?* Education in creativeness and initiative should start as early in life as possible, provided we agree that it is never too late. But education and training in health, budgeting, housing and the changing personal rela-

tions consequent upon retirement, will not be effective until men and women are old enough to see their relevance. You cannot make a schoolboy worry about pension rights – and you should not try.

Mr W. A. Sanderson, Secretary of the British and Commonwealth Committee of the Gulbenkian Foundation, has expressed the dynamic relationship between education and the successive stages of personal development in this way : ⁷ Better education in childhood should lead to better living at all ages. The post-war spread of music-making in schools, for example, is increasing the number of people with a life-long creative interest. In middle age there is an opportunity for education to have a special impact, since the middle-aged have completed the phase of their lives in which they are mainly concerned with child-rearing, home-making and establishing their careers. They are ready, especially the women, to develop talents for the redeployment of their leisure. Then again, when retirement is imminent, and a fresh set of needs makes itself felt, there is another occasion for suitable education. ⁸

This Report endorses and amplifies this attitude to adult education. There can be no uniform solution or prescription. The community should offer the necessary range of opportunities to help individuals adjust to change. Adult education, as one aspect of such opportunities, could be more flexible in its methods and more comprehensive in its aims than hitherto. It could be conceived as more than a curriculum of academic subjects, though it would be wrong to undervalue what has been central to its traditional role. In Mr Sanderson's words, 'it should be the servant, not the schoolmaster of the community.'

Furthermore, the question 'When to start?' is an administrative question for educationists and personnel managers, not a guide to the individual. He might, whether consciously or unconsciously, prepare to use leisure in retirement through conversations with older friends, through cultivating a range of hobbies, through assiduous use of the public library or membership of an allotments association. This Report enlarges the usual conception of 'Adult Education' by selecting for study not only the recognized agencies of adult education but also those voluntary organizations through which people 'educate' themselves in a range of activities from choral singing to model engineering.

The successful enjoyment of retirement need not necessarily be as closely linked with adult education as it was in the three cases described in this chapter. The stimulus could have come earlier in life, or through some voluntary association, or in wholly informal ways. Nevertheless, the examples we have given suggest that socially provided educational opportunities may be of vital importance to the mental health and social life of the elderly.

2

AN AGEING POPULATION : ITS CHALLENGE TO EDUCATION

The outstanding fact about the population structure in Britain, as in France, Belgium, Sweden, the United States and other highly industrialized countries (the USSR may still be an exception), is that the proportion of elderly people in the population is increasing, and that this increasing proportion is related to a larger total population.¹ If old people in Britain are defined as men and women of pensionable age (men of sixty-five and over, women of at least sixty), then from being about one in seventeen of the total population at the beginning of the century and one in ten in 1931, they made up approximately one in seven of the population in 1954, and some demographers expect that the proportion will be almost one in five in twenty-five years.² The following table shows this rapid increase in the numbers of elderly persons, both absolutely and proportionately, during this century.³

TABLE I
Estimated numbers of Elderly Persons in Great Britain
in relation to Total Population, 1911-79

<i>Census (C) Estimate (E)</i>	<i>Men 65 and over (1,000s)</i>	<i>Women 60 and over (1,000s)</i>	<i>Total No. of elderly (1,000s)</i>	<i>Ratio of 'elderly' to total population (%)</i>
1911 (C)	920	1,830	2,750	6.7
1931 (C)	1,420	2,870	4,290	9.5
1951 (C)	2,170	4,450	6,620	13.5
1954 (E)	2,230	4,660	6,890	13.9
1964 (E)	2,430	5,330	7,760	15.3
1979 (E)	3,330	6,170	9,500	18.2

The 'ageing' of populations should not be confused with the ageing of individuals. Though there has been some extension in the expectation of life at the age of sixty, it is truer to say that more

people are living into old age, than that the elderly live markedly longer than they did. Populations 'age' not because of 'medicated survival' but when fertility and/or mortality rates decline. At present, the dominant factor is the decline in fertility rates since 1900, but increasingly the improvement in mortality rates, especially among younger people, is having a permanent effect on the age distribution of the population. The improved prospects are shown in the following table :⁴

TABLE 2

Average Expectation of Life at Certain Ages, 1906 and 1956

<i>Average Expectation of Life</i>	<i>Men</i>			<i>Women</i>		
	<i>At birth</i>	<i>Age 40</i>	<i>Age 65</i>	<i>At birth</i>	<i>Age 40</i>	<i>Age 65</i>
1906	48.5	27.0	10.8	52.4	29.4	15.0
1956	67.8	31.4	11.9	73.3	36.2	18.7
<i>Years of Life Gained</i>	19.3	4.4	1.1	20.9	6.8	3.7

Improvement will continue as our control over the killing diseases advances up the age scale. The mortality rates of children and young adults are now so low that they cannot fall much lower. The biochemistry and physiology of senescence, however, are in their infancy : their progress and the medicine based on them could make the demographers' projections look grossly understated.

As the numbers of people reaching retirement age have increased, so has the proportion of people who do, in fact, stop working at sixty or sixty-five. In 1951, 68% of the men over sixty-five were no longer in employment, compared with 52% in 1931 and 41% in 1921.⁵ Though economic pressures cause these proportions to fluctuate at times, there is no doubt that more and more workers are retiring when they reach a pensionable age. Social legislation and the widespread inauguration of private occupational pension schemes are probably the most influential factors, but the changing characteristics of work – increased mechanization and greater speed of operations – are likely to be contributory causes. Whatever the underlying reasons, by 1954, 75% of the working men aged sixty-five could expect to spend some time in retirement, compared with 58% in 1931. Only 8.5% of those working at sixty-five could expect to delay their retirement for another ten years, compared with 13% in 1931.⁶ The Government Actuary, in his survey of occupational pension schemes published in May 1958, reported

that 55% of the workers are discouraged from deferring retirement or are not allowed to defer it by their employers, while 16% are allowed to choose when to retire and 29% are encouraged to put it off. Given that retirement arrangements remain much as they are at present, and that the proportion of retired men does not increase much further, the absolute number will increase greatly. In 1931, there were 740,000 men over sixty-five in this category ; by 1954 their numbers were estimated to have a little more than doubled – to 1,550,000. A recent projection for 1979 suggests a figure of 2,320,000.

As a result of post-war legislation the number of men retiring on pension immediately after their sixty-fifth birthday has greatly increased and although the numbers who are not fit to go on working are considerable in some occupations,⁷ for many men their sixty-fifth birthday is a day of crisis. For some, it is a catastrophe. The drop from employment into what may be the lethal boredom of retirement cannot be met by a single solution – the sheltered workshop, the abolition of compulsory retirement, the establishment of special departments in factories with less strenuous time-and-motion standards, the retraining of middle-age workers, the raising of pensions to an adequate level, or the enlargement of recreative and welfare facilities. All these responses are needed, and more than these, to deal with all the varieties of desire and circumstance. Hence, this Report does not advocate that the educational enrichment of leisure for the retired is the only appropriate reaction to their condition. For even if enriched leisure is more than having hobbies to kill the time, it is not a substitute for an adequate income in old age ; nor should it be a compulsory alternative to useful and remunerative work. Society will benefit, and the economy will certainly come to no harm, if older people are given the liberty and the means of liberty, so that they can realistically choose between work, rest, and creatively used free time.

Spare time, the opportunities throughout life for developing interest outside a man's work, may, and in some degree must, arise in other ways – through involuntary and unwanted unemployment, through the desired shortening of working hours, or through the modified 'retirement' of housewife and mother. Fortunately, unemployment is not a mass problem in Britain as it was before the war, and there are important differences between being an old man com-

pulsorily retired today and being a young man out of work in the thirties, but there are parallels in the two situations : ⁸ in both of them, individuals are confronted with more leisure than they know how to use, and cut off from the sociability and purposefulness of work.

Certainly there is likely to be more leisure throughout life in technologically advanced societies although in Britain, so far, technical change has increased productivity rather than shortened the working day, which is as long as it was just before the war. The nominal gains of a shorter working week are frequently off-set by more overtime working, or by 'moon-lighting' (as the Americans call taking a second job), and by spending hours on choked roads and in crowded trains between work and suburbia. But a century ago the working week was sixty hours long compared with today's average of 47. Meanwhile, the five-day week and holidays with pay are much more normal than they were before the war. Undoubtedly, men and women now have more time throughout life in which they might develop lasting enthusiasms. But if they merely accept distraction from entertainment caterers, adaptation to retirement, when acquisition and conspicuous consumption are no longer possible, may be more painful for them than it was for their forebears. The danger has been suggested by Robert Bendiner : ⁹

Right now it is business that is selling the life of leisure, and the life of leisure that business can sell is necessarily a life of Aqualungs, outboard motors, Scotch Koolers and house paint - all good in their way, no doubt, but none of them suggesting for a moment that there was more to Greece than marathons and more to Rome than baths.

Education can help to sustain a balance of values with which the older person can put acquisition in perspective.

So far the emphasis has been mainly on men. In the present generation of older people they are greatly outnumbered by women by 11% in the age group 45-64 and by 55% in the 65s and over.¹⁰ It is to be remembered that these figures reflect, as grimly as do the ubiquitous memorials, the mass slaughter of the first world war. But women tend in any case to live longer than men, and now that medical science has removed the main causes of early death for women, by reducing the hazards of childbearing

and by controlling tuberculosis, still more of them will reach old age.

Moreover, domestic technology, improved medicines, early marriage, and, above all, the deliberate planning of the size of families, have given modern women a dozen or more extra years in which they have some time to spare. Within the last generation the average age at which women marry has fallen by two years; the interval between marriage and the birth of the last child has fallen by three years; and the interval between the birth and the marriage of the last child has also fallen by three years.¹¹ These figures are cumulative; and to the eight years thus gained can be added the seven years' increased expectation of life for women at forty (see Table 2). What are women to do with this bonus of fifteen years? Though housewives can always find something that demands their attention, it is important for them to prepare for the 'retirement' that comes when the children grow up. Even while the children are at school, women are likely to find that they have not enough to do in the afternoons. It is in part this new leisure that has given impetus to the rapid expansion of a number of women's organizations in the last few years.

There is plenty of evidence of the educational capacity of the middle-aged housewife. But many educationists and social workers would doubt whether education in and for retirement is likely to appeal to more than a small minority of the elderly. Is not Grandma Moses a rare being to celebrate, rather than an example to imitate? Since old age is almost synonymous with physical decline, rigid mental habits and relative immobility, it is surely unreasonable to offer opportunities for learning to the elderly? This conclusion is based on a pervasive and a dangerous half-truth. There are three major objections to it. First, it obscures the marked differences that exist among individuals in their sixties, seventies, and eighties. Nobody assumes that generalizations about teenagers can be applied to people who are nearly forty. Before dismissing the relevance of educational experience to the interests of the elderly, it is important to be clear what age range is meant.

Secondly, it obscures the wide range of individual differences within an age group. A man may be in such ill-health during the last years of his working life that he dies soon after his sixty-fifth birthday, when he no longer has to make an effort. But alternatively

he might be taking long walks, serving on committees and learning a foreign language in his late seventies. Organized education and the voluntary associations that have an educational influence are not forms of mass catering; their scale of operations is small enough to meet most individual needs.

Thirdly, the negative view of old age is a stereotype which corresponds with the truth sufficiently to make itself more true: the negative image of ageing influences the way in which people age, so that instead of changing their tactics in the battle with life's problems, they may give up the battle altogether.

Research in America has shown that by the age of ten children have already accepted this negative picture; it persists even with graduate students who have been through a course on the psychology of ageing; and consequently men and women in late middle age, 'recognizing in themselves the physical stigmata of the years', conclude that all their powers to learn, to adapt and to adventure are on the wane. Yet we have increasing experimental evidence to prove that this defeatism is largely unjustified; plasticity is a function of exercise, not of age, so that many powers may be prolonged; the diminution of some capacities does not necessarily prevent the development of others. These are discoveries of the first importance, likely to do as much for the mental health of the elderly as medicine has accomplished for the physical health of the young.¹²

Educationists and social workers should not assume that older adults are incorrigibly rigid or failing. Planning appropriate educational opportunities for them involves a recognition that their hearing and vision are likely to be weaker than in many younger students; over-long lectures or tiny writing on blackboards would probably be discouraging; and there may be psychological inhibitions to reckon with. Feelings of inadequacy are widespread enough among adults, and they are intensified in old age. It would often be inappropriate, therefore, to approach the elderly with traditional concern for 'university standards'; it is growth and development that matter, not the standards reached, though appropriately pitched standards can help that growth.

How able are most old people to get out to what is offered? Three-quarters of all the men and women who were interviewed in a survey conducted in York in 1949¹³ were completely unrestricted in their movements; even in the oldest groups, 66% were unhampered. In the sample consisting of those who 'seemed to be

possibly in need of social aid and care' two-thirds were fully mobile, another 27% could go out with caution and 10% were what the Americans call 'shut-ins'. When Dr J. H. Sheldon conducted his enquiry into the condition of the elderly in Wolverhampton, he found that 66% enjoyed completely unrestricted movement, compared with 11% who were confined to their homes or even to their beds.¹⁴ The Stockport survey showed that even among men and women of 80 and over, 36.4% of the men and 20.6% of the women enjoyed mobility.¹⁵ The potential audience, in fact, is large.

3

THE PURPOSE AND METHOD OF THE ENQUIRY

The nature and purpose of the investigations which this Report describes can best be understood in the light of the argument so far. An increasingly large number, and proportion, of the population consists of men and women of pensionable age ; retirement is for many an abrupt and disturbing transition, but is likely to be less disturbing if the leisure it brings can be used purposefully ; experience of adult education, in its customary sense, or of membership of voluntary organizations with creative objectives, is likely to enlarge individual capacity to enjoy full-time leisure. 'Preparation for retirement' bears two meanings – the largely unconscious acquisition of resources throughout life and the particular concern with financial, medical and personal problems which are specific to old age. Given both the need and the capacity of the elderly (customarily underestimated), it is never too early to prepare for retirement, since this is the same as learning all through life how to use leisure well ; nor is it ever too late, since some knowledge can hardly seem relevant until retirement is imminent. Growth and development are in fact always possible except for the truly senile : much so-called senility is the effect, not the cause, of lack of opportunities for growth, choice and self-enlargement.

Answers were therefore sought to the following questions :

- 1 What opportunities are given by adult education and by voluntary societies with an educative influence to enable men and women of all ages, but especially those of more advanced years, to use their leisure in satisfying ways ?
- 2 What kinds of people appear at present to be taking advantage of these opportunities ? What are their ages, circumstances, and social and occupational backgrounds ? Are they a repre-

sentative cross-section of the population, or are large numbers of men and women comparatively untouched by the opportunities provided ?

- 3 How far do the accounts these people give of their own motives and social situations match the expectations of those who are in some measure responsible for providing the opportunities ? In what other ways are they involved in voluntary social organizations ?
- 4 If many people do not as yet use these facilities for enlivening their leisure, what use do they make of their spare time and what factors inhibit them from participating in adult education or creative societies ?
- 5 To what extent and in what circumstances are educational opportunities, in this broad sense, specially available to those who are approaching a retirement age and to those who have already reached it ?
- 6 What responsibilities do the answers to these questions imply for adult educationists, social workers, industrial managements, trades unionists and the community at large ? What further action should be expected from Ministries and Local Authorities ? What, in brief, have we still to do to help men and women to prepare themselves for the testing time of retirement and old age ?

To answer these questions, enquiries were undertaken : one at a national level, one wherever suitable individuals could be interviewed or activities observed, the others in several dissimilar areas - in Bristol, Hendon, Letchworth and Basingbourn. These areas were selected partly because local co-operation was assured or because similar investigations were already in progress, but mainly because they represent varieties of environment to be found in the country. They embrace an ancient city and commercial centre that reflects much of the nation's history, a prosperous suburb of London, a small self-contained industrial town in the Home Counties, and a village in rural Cambridgeshire with a relatively new Village College. Surveys conducted in Bolton and Rochdale by staff-tutors of Manchester University Extra-Mural Department,

of which the results have been published separately,¹ were also available for reference. The results as a whole are sufficiently congruent with other enquiries to justify their being presented as typical of many other places, though there would be obvious exceptions (Welsh mining villages, for instance, or market towns).

The findings fall into five main categories :

- 1 In all areas a study was made of the formal agencies of adult education and of voluntary societies with an educative influence. In Bristol, Hendon, Letchworth and Bassingbourn, officers of voluntary societies and adult educationists provided information about their activities. Secretaries of three-quarters of the selected societies in Bristol gave information about their groups, almost every secretary in Letchworth and Bassingbourn replied, and answers were received from about half the relevant groups in Hendon. One discovery of considerable methodological importance for future workers in this field emerged from the enquiry. The information about their clientele supplied by honorary officers of voluntary societies, when compared with members' own replies, seems to have been very reliable ; subsequent surveys with limited resources or organized on a local basis could use similar data with a good deal of confidence.
- 2 Many officers in Bristol, Hendon, Letchworth and Bassingbourn collaborated by supplying registers and membership lists from which representative samples were taken. Questionnaires were sent to one in ten of the members or students in as many societies as possible and in selected agencies of adult education.²
- 3 In order to compare the clientele for adult education and the voluntary societies with the population at large, representative samples of the general public were asked about their use of leisure in Bassingbourn, two wards in Letchworth and two districts in Bristol ; these were roughly the ' catchment areas ' of the adult education agencies under survey. Carefully briefed volunteer interviewers went to the addresses of every hundredth

name on the electoral registers and the interviews were conducted in people's own homes.

- 4 On the national level, information was sought from the major agencies of adult education and from a number of organizations with special interests, e.g. the Central Council for Health Education, to discover the extent of their provision for men and women who are in or approaching retirement ; material was also collected about the work of a number of old people's clubs.
- 5 Finally, interviews were conducted with men and women who had benefited at different times in their lives from contact with adult education, and some experimental activities in the new field of what might be called 'gerontological adult education' were observed and evaluated.

At this point it is necessary to explain more fully what is meant by 'adult education' and 'voluntary societies' and consequently what distinguishes a 'student' from a 'member' *as these terms are used in the report*. 'Adult Education,' for this purpose, embraces the work of Responsible Bodies, the non-vocational classes organized in Evening Institutes and elsewhere by Local Education Authorities, and the comprehensive programmes of centres affiliated to the Educational Centres Association. The 1944 Education Act charges Local Education Authorities with the provision of adequate further education facilities, but it requires them, in fulfilling this duty, to co-operate with 'Universities, Educational Associations and other bodies' who are in fact the main direct providers of organized 'liberal' adult education. These are the so-called Responsible Bodies ; they are represented in the main survey areas by the extra-mural boards or departments of the Universities of Bristol, London and Cambridge ; by the Western, London and Eastern Districts of the Workers' Educational Association, and by the Educational Centres Association.³

Though a good deal of sporadic work has been done on the characteristics of students in adult education, no previous enquiry, so far as is known, has embraced simultaneously the cognate activities of voluntary societies of an educative kind. No matter how quaint or quixotic, esoteric or exotic an interest may be, a society can usually be found or founded to bring together those

who share it. Indeed, almost anything which anyone can have in common with anybody else is likely to make people fraternize, draft a constitution, and seek out recruits – from growing cacti to advocating colonial self-government, from being an exiled Cumbrian to believing that the railways should be converted into roads, from playing draughts by correspondence to playing neglected cinema organs. For this enquiry, lines of demarcation had to be drawn, excluding sports clubs and the wholly recreational, benefit and propagandist groups. Information was received from a number of the Community Associations in Bristol. Two of them had a considerable educational and educative programme, while the others fell clearly into the social and recreative category. (In other parts of the country, especially on new housing estates, many Community Associations would qualify as ‘educative’ societies. Perhaps the most famous is the centre at Lymington, Hants., which has an exceptionally well-developed educational programme.) The nearer the borderline, the more difficult became the decision – are Theosophists a religious organization or a group studying comparative religion? Are vegetarian societies educational or propagandist? In the end, Esperantists and vegetarians were included in the Survey, while Theosophists were not. Societies devoted to such interests as drama, model engineering and natural history were studied, but not societies organized by firms for their own employees. A number of enterprises known for the extent of their voluntary recreative and sports groups were approached, and their replies suggest that it is rare to find educative societies, in our special sense of the term, organized through industry.

In what follows, then, groups of this kind are called ‘educative societies’ – that is, groups that have some educative effect on their members, provided that their objects are not primarily recreative, propagandist, welfare or evangelistic. A ‘member’ may adhere indefinitely to an ‘educative society’, a voluntary organization with a long-term programme which might, but does not usually, attract grant from the Ministry of Education. The word ‘student’, on the other hand, is applied to a person enrolled, for an explicit number of meetings or terms, in an adult education course or class which is subsidized by the National Exchequer (by general grant to local Authorities or by assistance to Responsible Bodies).

Life is never as tidy as classification and there is, in fact, a substantial border country between adult education and educative

societies. Some of these societies are explicitly *educational* in their objects and are units of national organizations in membership of the National Institute of Adult Education (the Co-operative Guilds, for instance, the Adult Schools or the Townswomen's Guilds). Furthermore, the democratic constitution of the Workers' Educational Association, or of centres like the Folk House and the Letchworth Settlement, enables their 'students' to function as 'members' of a 'society'. One of the major results of the enquiry was to illuminate the relationship between these two aspects of community life – adult education, the most deliberate and conscious educational influence on adults, and societies that are in fact educative, though they may have been initiated spontaneously out of a zeal for singing, Shakespeare, or succulents.

4

SOCIETIES AND THE USE OF LEISURE

The deliberate examination of societies as a possible medium of preparation for retirement involves an unfamiliar juxtaposition of ideas. Most of the groups studied in the survey naturally do not think of themselves as educational, though some would recognize that they were educative in their effect. Replies sometimes revealed stereotyped preconceptions about what interests can be sustained into old age: 'I don't think that there will be much connection with retirement since singing is often a thing which has to be given up as we get older. We simply get together to sing and enjoy it, nothing more or less.' As a matter of fact, choral singing is increasingly popular among the elderly, and a number of agencies run competitive festivals for old people's choirs. For instance, the Lancashire Community Council held its second Over Sixties' Choir Festival in April 1959. Choirs competed for five silver cups, and the quality of the music they sang is suggested by the composers represented. They included Warlock, Elgar, Handel and Parry.

There were a few groups who clearly saw their relevance not merely to the use of leisure, but to the narrower purpose of the enquiry. Thus the Secretary of the Bristol Guild of Pastoral Psychology wrote: 'Educating the adult over middle age to develop and discover his own real maturity, psychologically speaking, is one of our unwritten aims. This itself is a preparation for retirement . . . The number of societies in our city which *can* offer a broadening of the mind, enriching of life, greater variety of interests, etc. . . . is really staggering and wonderful. But none of this guarantees that one gets on any better with one's mother-in-law; is no longer afraid of death, or one's own company . . . When one's children are grown up and perhaps a full-time job is finished or diminishing, we feel a happy old age depends on taking up the challenge to discover one's own inner reality and to re-make one's personal philosophy.'

Bearing in mind this wise suggestion that interests and hobbies may be an escape rather than a source of fundamental enlivenment, we shall delineate the 'staggering and wonderful' variety of opportunities that voluntary initiative offers. New societies are being formed all the time; eight of the thirty-four groups studied in Letchworth, and twenty-four of the 101 in Bristol had been founded since 1950. At least twenty-two out of thirty-six societies in Hendon were started after 1945. These new societies had been created by enthusiasts for musical comedy, chamber music, choral singing, drama, literature, Margaret Morris Movement dancing, writing, social work, cacti cultivation, and even discussing retirement. Exuberant young societies are perhaps more likely to reply than senescent apathetic ones. But this could hardly affect Letchworth where almost every relevant organization took part: it might however be a factor in Bristol and Hendon. Table 3 shows the probable number of societies that should be included, and the actual number that provided information about their history, membership, purpose and state of morale. The table divides organizations into three categories – those which practice or study various arts (e.g., drama societies, art clubs and choirs), those which involve the use of technical skill or scientific method (ranging from cactus growers and natural historians to the devotees of speliology and Jungian psychology), and those that have talk or discourse as a prime ingredient in their programmes (e.g. Adult Schools, Townswomen's Guilds, Business and Professional Women).

TABLE 3

Educative Societies in Bristol, Letchworth and Hendon

<i>Area</i>	<i>Estimated Nos.</i>				<i>Nos. Replying</i>			
	<i>A.</i>	<i>T.</i>	<i>D.</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>A.</i>	<i>T.</i>	<i>D.</i>	<i>Total</i>
Bristol	70	26	71	167	33	19	54	106
Letchworth	16	5	19	40	14	4	16	34
Hendon	*	*	*	81	30	4	2†	36

A, Arts; T, Technical; D, Discussion

*The criteria used in Hendon were much less inclusive; 'Arts' was defined more narrowly, and hardly any technical societies were approached. Data from Townswomen's Guilds were not included in the totals.

†These two are actually classified as miscellaneous.

Table 4 records the foundation dates of societies in Bristol and Letchworth; it shows that the sample represents societies of all ages; five of the Bristol and two of the Letchworth societies could not or did not give their foundation dates.

TABLE 4
Foundation Dates of Educative Societies
Supplying Information in Bristol and Letchworth

<i>Date</i>	<i>Number of Societies</i>	
	<i>Bristol</i>	<i>Letchworth</i>
1950-1959	24	8
1940-1949	34	9
1919-1939	23	7
1900-1918	12	8
Pre 1900	8	—

VITALITY AND MORALE OF SOCIETIES

Though the groups studied had been in existence for very varying periods, it is clear that, broadly speaking, the age of a society does not give a clue to its vitality. There is a kind of 'entropy' that afflicts some long-established groups, as their members age and they fail to make further recruits, but age did not prevent the Bristol Naturalists' Society, for example, founded in 1862, from having 256 members energetically deployed in numerous sections. On the other hand, a new society might find that it had over-estimated the extent of public support, had difficulty in involving enough people to share the leadership and so become discouraged.

The vitality of a society can be judged by the enterprising nature of its programme, its ability to recruit as many members as it needs, and the state of its finances. Experience suggests that the major determining factor is the morale of the leading members of a committee, and their subjective attitude was therefore used as an objective measure of vitality. Officers, usually honorary secretaries, were asked to indicate which of these statements most nearly reflected their opinion:

- A. We depend on the loyalty of a dwindling few.
- B. We have known better days.
- C. We are going along much as we have done for some years.
- D. We are showing signs of renewed vitality.
- E. We are running very successfully.
- F. We are going from strength to strength.

It is logically possible to agree with more than one of these at the same time. A group might have known better days, but still be functioning well and some secretaries managed to invent some very curious combinations. Nevertheless the scale from A to F represents as it were a continuously rising tone of voice, and it is possible to indicate roughly the morale of voluntary leaders.

The majority of societies were neither dejected nor buoyant ; an encouraging number reckoned they were 'running very successfully'. The enthusiasm of many groups was reflected in further comments. The references are to Bristol, but with some changes in specific names, they stand for a pattern common to most towns in England and Wales. The Bristol Paragon Concert Society, for instance, which was founded in 1952 'to promote programmes of professional orchestral and chamber music', consider that 'this season is proving the most lively and successful since the inception of the Society.' The Society is one of at least four in Bristol that receive help from the Arts Council. The others all have D-F morale ratings. Groups which depend entirely on their own resources can often speak in similar terms. A Model Aero Club (founded 1947) has quadrupled its membership since 1954 (it now has 90 members) and is in the rare position of finding that spending the Club's income is almost a problem. The Little Company of Players, a serious amateur drama group, has increased its membership from 20 to 64 in three years ; the Bristol Cactus Society has grown from 95 members to 162 (85 men and 77 women) in the same period ; and the Astronomical Society which 'discreetly discourages cranks', has almost doubled its membership (37 to 65). The Bristol Film Guild which, with a 'strength to strength' rating, has a membership of 500 and a sound bank balance, can now look back over 'thirteen years of switchback life, constantly beset by worries of finance, membership, overhanging girders, knees in the back, and the other irritations that bestrew the path of the enthusiastic film connoisseur'. The Bristol Savages (a painting group who do not know how they got their name), has 340 members and a long waiting list : it is one of the few groups for which nomination is necessary. The 300-strong Bristol Photographic Society is the largest group of its kind in the West of England. There are 41 members in the Society for Recorder Players : amateur opera is so popular that the Director of Education, as President of the Savoy Operatic Society, can refer in a programme note to this

Society's place *among* other Gilbert and Sullivan societies in the City.

THE RANGE OF SOCIETIES

A company director, fearing perhaps that this enquiry would be used to advocate more sponsorship by the State or local government, commented on his society members' questionnaire: 'In general I consider that facilities for self-education will always – and should always – arise within the community itself. I do not consider it desirable that such facilities should be too easily provided. A measure of personal effort is *essential*.' Without at this stage going into the desirable relationship between provided and voluntarily organized facilities, it does not necessarily follow that the pattern of existing societies must represent all that the inhabitants want. There are at least three factors causing omissions which should be repaired.

1. The habit and the capacity for leadership and initiative may not be equally prevalent throughout the possible range of group interests. It may be, for instance, that people who are interested in artistic pursuits are also people who know how to found organizations to foster them, but that some kinds of craftsmen do not possess this organizing ability; or it may be that societies do not cater sufficiently for the young adult, and that young adults are not yet experienced enough to start or sustain ventures of their own. The transience of jazz groups would be an example.

Table 3 (p.42) showed that contact was successfully made with 33 art societies, 19 technical groups and 54 discussion groups in Bristol, just under two-thirds of the actual number within the limits specified. In Letchworth, almost every society was reached – 14 art groups, 4 technical and 16 discussion. In the other areas, societies were approached on a different basis, so that exact comparison is not always possible. Everywhere drama and music societies proliferate. Ten of the thirty-three co-operating art groups in Bristol were devoted to drama of all kinds – the staging of plays of quality, of well-groomed performances of West End successes, of box-office plays to make money for charity or church funds. Though the number is smaller in Letchworth, the range is the same. Every variety of musical taste seems to find expression – from jazz, operetta and musical comedy, through oratorios and the

four-square Teutonic tradition which Handel and Mendelssohn grafted into England, to the performance of baroque or contemporary British music. Gramophone circles and concert societies cater for those who like listening to others. Painters do not multiply their groups to the same extent. There are three in the Bristol sample, including the large group of Savages and the small but keen Palette Club. In Letchworth, there is only one Art Society, but it offers its increasing membership weekly meetings with a tutor. Letchworth and Bristol both have Writers' Circles; in Bristol the Clifton Shakspeare Society shows its age by the spelling of the playwright's name. In addition to the Adult Schools and Townswomen's Guilds there are numerous discussion associations with more or less specific objectives, like the Business and Professional Women, the English Speaking Union, the Bristol Civic Society and the Esperantists.

Suppose, however, a man or woman wishes to enrich his or her leisure by pursuing a scientific interest or technical skill rather than an art or some form of talk. When the opportunities provided by voluntary initiative in this sphere are examined, they seem to be relatively poor. The situation is clearest in Letchworth. As Table 3 showed, only four of the thirty-four associations are technical or scientific – the Naturalists' Society, Hitchin and District Model Engineers, North Herts Beekeepers Association and the Letchworth Camera Club,* and of these, as their names convey, two are not strictly Letchworth groups at all. Both have their headquarters outside the Garden City, and only a handful of their members are Letchworth residents. Considering that Letchworth is an industrial town, it seems improbable that these four groups are a sufficient outlet for technical enthusiasm.

On the face of it, the position in Bristol is better. Since it is a much larger place, there is indeed a wider choice. The sample included photographic societies, two aero-modelling groups, model engineers, yacht and ship modellers, a thriving television society and a branch of the Radio Society of Great Britain, a circle of railway enthusiasts, a large speleological association, breeders of cacti and bees, astronomers, naturalists, psychologists, philatelists

*For convenience of analysis, still and movie photographic groups were classified as technical rather than artistic, but there is a certain arbitrariness involved. Removing them actually strengthens the present argument.

and geographers. But proportionally there is no more provision in Bristol than in Letchworth. The ratio is the same in both places. Many technical hobbies are, of course, pursued in contented solitude. Even so, technical men are as aware as writers and painters that it is stimulating to meet others with the same passion, and that the group meeting is a way of making personal contact with experts.

2. Many activities are only possible if there is adequate accommodation for them. Lack of suitable premises may be the primary cause of the relatively small numbers of technical societies. Are there enough meeting places, halls of different sizes, with a stage, with a room that can be used as a darkroom, with a workshop? There are signs that the habitual identification of accommodation with halls is having, in one direction, stultifying effect on voluntary effort. Even dramatic societies need more than a hall if they are to function properly. They need a workshop in which to build sets and paint scenery. In Hendon, for example, nearly all societies hire accommodation, while only four have premises of their own. A few meet in private houses, but there is a special difficulty facing the group that is too large to meet in a member's home but too small to need or to afford the larger halls that may be available.

3. Most activities cost money, and some cost a great deal. The potential members of a group may be able to pay for their materials and equipment – but not to meet the rent of accommodation. Their collapse would be a considerable social loss, and if there are groups worried about finance, there may be as many that never start because the financial obstacles seem insuperable. Only a minority of the Letchworth societies said they were financially worried. But from Bristol the replies were disquieting. Of those that answered the question, forty-six find budget-balancing a problem, compared with fifty-four that do not.

MEMBERSHIP OF SOCIETIES

How many men and women are applying part of their leisure to educative societies? Are the numbers increasing or declining? Absolute numbers are hard to assess, because of multiple membership; but the forty-four societies reviewed in Rochdale by Dr Wilson mustered a total enrolment of 3,548, a figure that had fallen

13% over the last four years.¹ Seventeen groups had enjoyed an increase of membership, especially the Literary and Scientific Society. Another seventeen groups had shown a loss over that period, particularly the Engineering Technical Society which 'suffered an almost catastrophic fall in membership'. The Bristol and Letchworth situations were healthier. The Bristol groups that reported have a membership of about 11,000, and of those that gave figures for the last three years, the membership of thirty-three went up, of forty-four remained steady and twenty-six declined. Most of the changes were small. With a total membership in Letchworth of 2,020 twelve of the groups reported increases; fourteen showed no change, and eight were smaller than they had been three years earlier.

Paper membership and active membership are not equivalent; but generalizations about the discrepancy between them could distort its significance, because the structures and purposes of societies differ. The Rochdale Gardens and Allotments Society does not exist primarily to bring its members together at meetings, and it has only an average of 15% present at its public-house conventions. The number active in a drama society may vary from production to production, but it may be constant in a choral or operatic group. An organization offering a wide variety of choice to a large membership (such as the Bristol Old Vic Theatre Club) would not, perhaps, be so disturbed by a low average attendance as might the Letchworth United Nations Association. In Rochdale, Dr Wilson has noted a connection between a very high percentage of attendance and the frequency of meetings. More than 80% of the Scottish Country Dancers turn up weekly, and so do the members of the Intimate Opera Society.

A specific case brings the argument back to the juxtaposition of ideas with which this chapter started. The Secretary of a Model Engineering Club wrote in the following terms: 'Both our Treasurer... and myself have retired since joining the Club and are both finding that our time is fully employed with our hobby. I have always had it in mind to build a garden railway and have been longing for my retirement so that I could get cracking. I have now been retired since the eighteenth June (1958), but have been so busy that I have not yet started on the railway, but excitement is growing. So many people have told me that I should miss the office and should not know what to do with myself. I have always

known better. Railway building has many advantages, to my mind, over most other hobbies. It is never finished, there is always something that can be added, and – this is a point that I have considered most carefully – short of complete disablement or, perhaps, loss of both eyes, one can continue making models. Our Treasurer . . . has had railways in his blood for many years and at the age of seventy thoroughly enjoys life and has just completed a very ambitious model . . . which works well and does its own turn when we have the portable track out at fetes.’

5

WHO ARE THE MEMBERS AND STUDENTS ?

Given that adult education and membership of educative societies enhance personal resources and provide long-term satisfaction, to what extent are those who take advantage of them representative of the population as a whole ? Answers to this question were sought in two ways : officers described their members as accurately as they could from their normal contact with them ; and a sample of members and students completed a questionnaire about themselves. The accounts, so far as they give comparable data, corroborate each other. Further, officers' replies in Bristol and Hendon are strikingly consistent with those in the almost complete return from Letchworth, so that it can reasonably be assumed that the societies that co-operated are fairly representative.

OFFICERS' DESCRIPTION OF SOCIETY MEMBERS

The committee spokesmen were asked : ' Without going to any special trouble to find out, to what age groups do you think most of your members belong : under 24, 25-45, 46-59, 60 and over ? ' Tables 5 (a) and (b) show what the officers believe to be the dominant age groups in their societies. It should be explained that there are two parts to this table because the associations surveyed in Hendon were drawn from a more selective list. The committees in Hendon were asked two questions about age distribution on a finer scale - ' which age groups are represented, and from which groups are most of the members drawn ? '

The Letchworth figures are the most reliable because of the return's completeness and because most of the societies are small enough for committees to know the members well. Hendon officials would have found the finer scale more difficult to use ; nevertheless, the results from all three areas create the same impression - educative societies do not primarily attract young

adults, nor does it seem that the elderly are as substantially involved as might be hoped. The comparative reluctance of young men and women to join educative societies was also noted by Dr Wilson and Mr Ruddock in Bolton and Rochdale, but they discovered that 'Many of the younger people say they would like opportunities to cultivate spare time interests in groups of their own age'. Mr Ruddock successfully put this desire to the test by forming a group recruited from the respondents to his questionnaire.¹

However much age segregation may be deplored, it is possible that approaches as imaginative as Mr Ruddock's could also be made to the elderly.

TABLE 5

Age Structure of Membership of Educative Societies (Officers' Views)

A. In Letchworth and Bristol

<i>Dominant Age Group</i>	<i>Percentage of Societies</i>	
	<i>Letchworth</i>	<i>Bristol</i>
Under 24	7	8
25-45	43	40
46-59	37	36
60 and over	13	16
Total	100	100
Number	34	106

B. In Hendon

<i>Age Group</i>	<i>No. of Societies (from 36) :</i>	
	<i>having any members in the age group</i>	<i>whose members are predominantly from the age group</i>
Under 21	22	2
22-24	25	4
25-39	28	17
40-54	26	8
55-59	16	0
60-64	16	0
65 and over	15	0

Officers were also asked : 'Again without going to any trouble to find out, in which of these occupational categories do most of your members belong : Housewives, Administrative and Professional, Distributive Trades, Clerical Workers, Skilled Workers, Unskilled and Semi-Skilled Workers ?' This scale was adopted so that comparisons might be made with Hendon, where the enquiry had already begun.

'Photography', wrote the Secretary of a Bristol Society, 'attracts people from the labourer to the managing director'. And membership of a Cactus Society is believed to be 'very evenly distributed between both sexes and among all ages. Members' occupations are extremely diverse. We have butchers, teachers, auctioneers, factory workers, schoolboys, university lecturers, dentists, market gardeners, shopkeepers, and one or two of the idle rich. They all belong to this society because they like growing cacti'. As a matter of fact, these two hobbies are unusual in their wide appeal. In all the areas, educative societies claim to cater mainly for administrative and professional people, and for clerical workers. The uneven distribution is most marked in Letchworth, though the great majority of its inhabitants are in the last three occupational groups. Letchworth may look like a prosperous dormitory town, but it is, in fact, industrial, housing a statistically negligible number of commuters. The provisional conclusion, based on the observations of honorary officers, is that those who participate in educative societies are not at all representative of the population, as considered by age or by occupation.

TABLE 6
Occupational Structure of Educative Societies in Letchworth, Bristol
and Hendon (Officers' Views)

<i>Dominant Occupation Group</i>	<i>Letchworth</i>	<i>Percentage of Societies Bristol</i>	<i>Hendon</i>
Housewives	33	31	26
Admin. and Professional	30	25	26
Distributive	8	8	7
Clerical	15	19	22
Skilled	9	11	13
Semi and Unskilled	5	6	6
Total	100	100	100
Number	34	106	36

ANALYSIS OF REPLIES OF MEMBERS AND STUDENTS

The questionnaire completed by individuals gives a clearer picture, not only of members but also of students. The analysis that follows is based on a sample of 1,055 men and women, made up as follows :

TABLE 7
Numbers of Members and Students included in the Sample

Area	Men	Women	Total
Bristol	211	255	566
Hendon	133	258	391
Letchworth	23	49	72
Bassingbourn	7	19	26
Total	374	681	1,055

The size of the Letchworth and Bassingbourn samples is too small to justify further division. Consequently, the argument rests either on the total figures for the four areas or, for some of the finer analyses, on the larger groups in Bristol and Hendon. Whenever members and students are not distinguished from each other, they will be described collectively as 'Joiners'. Further, men and women approached as members were asked about their past and present activities as students, and, similarly, students were asked about their membership of educative societies. This made it possible to divide the Hendon and Bristol samples which were large enough to justify it, into those who are *at present students only*, those who are *members only*, and those who are *both*, and to trace their past experience in these respects. Table 8 shows the extent to which these groups are distinct or overlapping in the sample :

TABLE 8
Students and Members distinguished (Bristol and Hendon only)

	Men	Women	Total
Students only	50	194	244
Members only	99	112	211
Both	195	306	501
Total	344	612*	956

*one woman could not be classified

These figures should not be taken to reflect the degree of overlap in the population, but they should be borne in mind when students' characteristics are compared with those of members. Furthermore, the extent of overlap in the past is considerable. 30% of the men and 27% of the women who are now only in classes have been members of educative societies in the past, and the great majority of those who are 'members only' at present have had some experience of classes.

The high proportion of women among the respondents reflects the position in adult education throughout the country. The most recent statistics from the Ministry of Education² show that 260,541 men over eighteen are enrolled in Evening Institute and Responsible Body classes, while women over eighteen in these classes number 538,579. The numbers in Responsible Body classes are fairly even; the wide discrepancy occurs in Evening Institute work. Table 8 shows that the total number of male students in the sample is 245, of female students exactly 500. Thus, women outnumber men by slightly more than two to one both in the national figures and in the sample. It should be remembered that 'adult education' does not include vocational training; if vocational classes for men were included, the figures would be materially altered. 'Women's subjects' – cookery, dressmaking and other home crafts – are commonly and properly considered a part of liberal adult education. Although in a sense such classes have a vocational value, there is also a liberal and social element and an absence of examination pressures in education of this kind that differentiate it sharply from most male vocational training. Most men have completed their vocational training by the time they are twenty-five, very few indeed will go on after thirty, but women have a much longer continuing interest in children and the home.

No one was asked his precise age, only which age group he was in. The age group distribution of joiners, that is of members and students, in all areas, is summarized in Table 9.

TABLE 9
Percentage Age Distribution within Sample (all areas)

<i>Age Group</i>	<i>Men (%)</i>	<i>Women (%)</i>
Under 25	11	16
25-35	32	24
36-45	23	27
46-55	19	17
56-64	6	8
65 and over	4	4
No reply	5	4
Total	100	100
Number	374	681

This table confirms that the majority of joiners are aged between twenty-five and forty-five, and that those over sixty-five participate in adult education and educative societies to a very limited extent.

To show how unrepresentative is the age distribution it is necessary to regroup the figures in our sample so that they can be compared with the total population figures for England and Wales

TABLE 10

Percentage Age Distribution within Sample (all areas) compared with Population (Figures based on Registrar General's *Statistical Review of England and Wales for the Year 1957 : Pt. II, Tables, Civil*, H.M.S.O., 1959)

Age Group	Men		Women	
	Population %	Sample %	Population %	Sample %
18-24	13	10	11	15
25-45	39	55	36	51
46-59	28	21	27	21
60 and over	20	8	26	8

Now it is clear that the preponderance of men and women between twenty-five and forty-five is to some extent a reflection of their dominance in the population as a whole. The age-group 40-55 is substantially represented in the sample, but the group of which it is a part (46-59) is under-represented compared with the population as a whole. This decline of activity with age becomes a dramatic withdrawal for the over-sixty group. Those who have the time apparently lack the means or the inclination.

So far, no distinction has been made between the age distribution of students and that of members, but the division of the Hendon and Bristol sample into those who are members, those who are students and those who are both, suggests that there are different joining tendencies among people of different ages.

Almost half the men who are both members and students are under thirty-five; but society members only (both men and women) are markedly older than the other two groups. Indeed, men and women 'joiners' over sixty-five are much more likely to be in societies than in classes. This corresponds with the common-sense expectation that older adults would be more interested in following the pursuits they had already discovered than in learning new ones.

In what respects does the occupational distribution of the joiners diverge from the national pattern? To determine this, sufficient information was obtained from the respondents to enable their occupations to be graded in the seven categories that had been used by the BBC's Audience Research Department.³ The scale was

chosen because it classifies people according to the extent of their education and the degree of responsibility their work involves.⁴

Obviously not all the men and women in our samples were at work; but almost all could be classified occupationally. 88% of the men were employed full-time, 8% were self-employed, and 4% were retired. 42% of the women were employed full-time, 2% were self-employed and 4% described themselves as retired. 58% were housewives and 2% of the women were of independent means. Part-time work concerned 2% of the men and 9% of the women.

The BBC carried out a survey in 1953 to discover the distribution of the occupational categories they were using in the adult population of Great Britain. Their findings can be compared with the distribution in our sample :

TABLE II
Percentage Occupational Distribution within Sample (all areas)
compared with Population

Occupational Group	Sample		Total Population %
	Men %	Women %	
1. Higher Professional and Administrative	16	14	4.5*
2. Lower Professional and Technical	23	24	
3. Highly Skilled	26	25	9
4. Skilled	18	22	22
5. Moderately Skilled	9	8	26
6. Semi-Skilled	3	3	21
7. Unskilled	2	1	12
Unclassified	3	4	5
Total	100	100	100
Number	374	681	

*Estimated to be divided approximately : 1, 1.5% ; 2, 3%

Where housewives in the sample were not also at work they were graded according to their former occupations, that of their husbands, or (in doubtful cases), their education. The BBC either classified them by their jobs before marriage or left them in an unclassified category. The 'joiners' differ significantly from the general population. Groups one and two together are present in the sample eight times as often as they are in the population. It is only in Group 4 that there is equilibrium between the two sets of figures. The lower groups, from the moderately skilled down-

wards, are heavily under-represented. A sub-division of the Hendon and Bristol samples shows that this exclusion of the lower occupational groups is more marked in societies than in classes.

This analysis, in terms of proportions, does not, of course, imply that the actual groups and classes must be socially homogeneous, or that these activities are, as a whole, socially exclusive. It is a useful corrective to translate some of the percentages back into figures. Sixty-nine of the 374 men in the total sample were skilled workers and thirty-three, or almost one in every ten, were moderately skilled. Seventy-one of the 681 women were in either the moderately or the semi-skilled groups, and nearly a quarter of them (152 out of 681) were in the skilled category, in their own right or by marriage. It remains true however that 60% of the population is to be found in Groups 5-7. The self-confidence that grows out of social status, and prolonged experience of education must, in part, be responsible for the larger number of administrative and professional people involved. Men and women who are at the 'receiving end' of other people's decisions for most of their lives start at a disadvantage, which must challenge every educationist and welfare worker. The man who saw the open door of Bristol's Folk House, walked in because he was curious and stayed because he was interested was a very exceptional man indeed.

Since education has been used as a defining characteristic of occupational status, it follows logically that the educational experience of 'joiners' would have differed from that of the population at large. Table 12 sets out the comparison, in terms of the age at which people completed their full-time education.

TABLE 12

Age of Completing Full-time Education : Percentage Distribution within Sample (all areas) compared with Population (England & Wales)

Age of Completing Education	Men		Women	
	Population	Sample	Population	Sample
	%	%	%	%
14 and under	76	26	66	19
15 and 16	18	31	25	34
17-20	4	23	6	31
20 and over	2	17	3	14

Note : Figures for total population based on General Tables of the 1951 Census. The Census figures give terminal education ages for the *occupied population only* : therefore, comparison with the women in the sample needs to be made with caution.

The occupational discrepancy between the joiners and the nation as a whole is paralleled by the educational divergence. Three-quarters of the adults in this country left school when they were fourteen or younger. Only a quarter of the men and less than a quarter of the women in the sample had as little education as that. Nevertheless, no one should assume that to join a class or a society is necessarily to find oneself surrounded by highly educated people. Taking the sample as a whole, we find that those who left school very young form a substantial part of it. Thus these agencies may justly claim, as they sometimes do, that they attract all sorts of people.

There are two points to stress. Whereas at most 3% of the population have had a university education, 17% of the male joiners and 9% of the female joiners are graduates. There is no truth in the idea that these agencies of adult education are only a welfare service for the underprivileged. This makes the second point still more important. The figures should not reinforce the inhibitions of those whose estimate of themselves already holds them back from participating; half of all the joiners finished their full-time education by the time they were sixteen.

By correlating the ages of the sample respondents with the ages at which they finished their full-time education, education or the lack of it is seen to be at least one reason for the non-participation of the elderly, especially of elderly men.

The more education you have, the more education you are likely to get. This investigation confirms the conclusion recently reached by Mr Joseph Trenaman.⁵ He was studying engagement in formally organized further and adult education, but his findings apply even when the concept is widened to include educative societies, and even when these societies consider themselves re-creative, as many of them do. Characteristically the 'joiners' have had much more education than the adult population as a whole, and consequently, though lack of education is almost certainly not the only factor, neither the elderly nor the unskilled appear in classes or societies in proportion to their numbers. They take little part in this local and spontaneously created aspect of our culture.

6

EXPERIENCE OF ADULT EDUCATION

This chapter considers the following questions :

What kinds of adult education are in fact experienced ? Are they mutually exclusive, or do students ever move from liberal studies to creative or practical classes, or in the reverse direction ?

Does a person's occupational and educational background appear to influence engagement in adult education ?

What evidence have we of a movement between classes and societies ?

A leading adult educationist in one of the research areas asked in specific terms. 'Do all these men who just come to classes to learn how to repair their cars leave when they have succeeded, or does the satisfaction of this narrow utilitarian need to lead them on to other activities ?' A similar question might be posed about women who join dressmaking classes, or go to craft classes to make Christmas presents under expert supervision. It is possible to chart the extent of movement from one group of subjects to another, or (putting the matter in another way), to take the students in one group of subjects and trace what their previous experience of adult education had been. The material indicates to some extent whether it seems likely that their experience is sufficiently varied to equip them with a range of interests, or give them a fairly generalized sense of personal competence. Clearly, this has significance for organizers and administrators far beyond the particular question of preparation for retirement.

In order to make the discussion manageable, courses and classes were analysed under six headings : *'Courses in liberal studies, of the kind sponsored by the Responsible Bodies ; Classes in the Arts ; Domestic Crafts ; Hobbies ; Languages ; Physical activities.* It is important to notice a distinction between the first group, liberal studies, and all the others. The difference is broadly one between learning by study or discussion, and learning by doing. The first

group is normally provided through Responsible Bodies, and the other five through Education Authority classes, each type of agency being governed by different Ministry of Education regulations, and commonly remunerating tutors on different scales, usually to the disadvantage of the L.E.A. tutors. This administrative division, which affects the organization and prestige of different phases of adult education, has educational consequences which will be considered later.

The situation described is a fair representation of all the adult education agencies from which the sample was drawn. Men and women who, though approached through societies, were or had been students, are included. The argument will be presented in five stages :

1. The commitments of students to adult education at the time when the enquiry was carried out and in the past.
2. Movement from one type of 'doing' class to another (students joining classes for the first time are here excluded).
3. Movements between liberal studies and all other types of class.
4. The influence of occupation and full-time education on these movements.
5. The extent of the movement from adult education to educative societies.

PAST AND PRESENT COMMITMENTS

Table 13 shows the total experience as recorded by present and past students at the time of the enquiry.

TABLE 13
Present and Past Types of Enrolment (all areas)

<i>Category of Classes</i>	<i>Men</i>		<i>Women</i>	
	<i>Present</i>	<i>Past</i>	<i>Present</i>	<i>Past</i>
Liberal Studies	46	70	88	164
Arts	89	83	163	200
Domestic Crafts	12	14	209	287
Hobbies	99	99	53	95
Languages	29	65	66	135
Physical Activities	25	70	119	233
No. in Sample		374	681	

The table does not show how many courses or classes under each heading a student has attended ; a student who is taking one course

in languages, for instance, and another in an arts subject is recorded in both places. The point at this stage of the argument is not to discover the relative popularity of different subjects; that could be more reliably arrived at from national and local registration statistics. The object is to show their relative popularity within the sample, as a background to a more detailed description of 'flow' among the categories. (It suggests that the maximum movement is to be expected from men moving into and out of classes on Arts and Hobbies, and from women 'transferring' to or from Arts and Domestic Crafts.) It must be remembered, however, that there is no information about the time lag from one experience to another.

MOVEMENT BETWEEN CLASSES ON PRACTICAL SUBJECTS

On this matter specific questions can be answered.² How many men leaving 'hobbies' will move on to some experience of singing, painting or public speaking? If our sample is typical, about one in seven. Fifty-six men were committed in the past to car driving, metalwork, radio maintenance, and the like, and of these eight are now enrolled in the Arts group. Just under half of them (twenty-six) will persist in Skilled Hobbies, but the rest are likely to be found spread, about equally, among the other categories. How many men who have learned to address the chair, act, or write an italic hand are likely to learn skills which will be useful about the house and in the garden? If the ratio of 9 out of 48 is typical, just over one in five men will make the transition, since 9 of the 66 men in the Skilled Hobbies group have had previous experience in an Arts class. Both men and women in an Arts class are likely enough to have been enrolled previously in a language class; and nearly one in five of the women who pursue utilitarian domestic crafts is likely later to learn about an interpretative or creative art. There is sufficient evidence of movement to suggest that many men and women are exposed to stimuli of different kinds through adult education. Since movements happen, it would be realistic for organizers to encourage them more than they do, and not to assume that the man learning how to tinker with his motor is apt to do nothing else. As far as these figures go, they are encouraging. There is not so much change as to suggest that many students are dabblers, but there is enough to make it unlikely that they all

simply turn up their hems, take out the tacking threads, or rev up their sweetened engines to be seen no more.

Even where adult education is most like training, it is likely to have a broadening influence on the choice of leisure pursuits of which men and women are conscious, and a strengthening influence on their general sense of competence.

LIBERAL STUDIES

Do the students who learn to use their hands or voices move on to broaden their minds, at any rate through liberal studies? Do students who are academically inclined move to more practical classes? Every year the evening institute students greatly outnumber those in liberal courses. Nevertheless there is a considerable flow in both directions; and this flow could presumably increase were the agencies much less stratified and physically segregated than they tend now to be.

It appears from our sample³ that many men and women taking liberal studies at present are also enrolled in classes in the Arts group, and they frequently record that they had been students of the arts and of languages in the past. The percentages recorded of past participation in skilled hobbies and physical activities are particularly striking. The present commitments of those with past experience of liberal studies show a considerable amount of transition from academic to practical studies, especially towards the Arts subjects, domestic crafts (among the women), skilled hobbies and languages. Students, in fact, seem not to be so conscious of the boundaries of status and regulation between these two distinct genres of adult education as are those who have to administer them. A fact of some significance in what might be called the strategy of encouragement is that the Arts subjects recruit substantially from the other categories (e.g., 52 of the 196 women at present committed to Arts classes were previously enrolled in domestic subjects); and students in liberal studies courses are likely to have been in Arts classes. Consequently, the Arts subjects seem to be an appropriate bridge for many people from 'doing' to managing more or less abstract ideas. It may be, of course, that facility in the management of ideas can never be as widespread as practical ability; but our relative ignorance of how people of different levels of verbal sophistication can effectively communicate

with each other is certainly preventing many men and women from developing to the limits of their natural capacity.

OCCUPATIONAL INFLUENCES

It must be remembered, however, that the character of this movement between classes differs to some extent with students who have different occupational and educational backgrounds, because background undoubtedly affects the subject selected. Table 14 shows the relationship between occupation and present commitments in subject categories for students in Bristol and Hendon. The figures are expressed as percentages of the total for each occupational group. The facts that emerge have implications which those responsible for policy cannot afford to ignore.

TABLE 14

Influence of Occupation on Subject Selection (Bristol-Hendon)

A. Men

<i>Category of Classes</i>	<i>Occupational Group</i>					
	1 %	2 %	3 %	4 %	5 %	6 and 7 %
Liberal	19	12	7	9	6	12
Arts	36	18	27	17	19	12
Domestic	0	3	4	5	6	6
Hobbies	10	26	31	21	38	47
Languages	12	9	2	15	3	6
Physical	4	5	6	9	19	12
No. in sample	52	77	89	66	32	17

B. Women

<i>Category of Classes</i>	<i>Occupational Group</i>					
	1 %	2 %	3 %	4 %	5 %	6 and 7 %
Liberal	22	15	13	8	7	5
Arts	26	25	24	24	20	9
Domestic	19	33	27	40	37	55
Hobbies	7	8	10	5	9	9
Languages	11	13	9	10	4	9
Physical	15	16	18	24	20	14
No. in Sample	82	144	158	143	46	22

Enrolment figures are expressed as percentages of the total for each occupational group. They do not add up to 100 as some people will have no present enrolments and some more than one.

Observers frequently note that students in Workers' Educational Association and extra-mural courses attract people with occupations that are not usually associated with the term 'workers'. This enquiry supports the observation. Men in Groups 1 and 2 are much more likely than those in the other occupational grades to join liberal studies classes, and the women in Group 1 even more likely to do so than other women. This table, however, shows an additional finding. Men and women in Group 1 are much more likely to take up classes in art, drama, choral singing, pottery, etc., under local authority auspices, than any other subject. In the case of the men the practical arts subjects are twice as popular as liberal studies. Men in every other group are attracted more by skilled 'hobbies' than by any other category, and the small numbers of men in groups six and seven are heavily concentrated in that type of programme. The domestic crafts constitute the feminine equivalent. For all women, except those in Group 1, these are the most popular subjects; more than half the small number of women in Groups 6 and 7 will enrol for them.

The joiners (students and members) in all four areas were asked if they had ever attended a week-end or summer school in any subject, and whether it was residential or not. 22% of the men and 24% of the women said that they had been on such a short course, and for 18% of the men and 20% of the women the course had been residential. The Bristol-Hendon occupational analysis showed the by now expected results - men and women in the first two occupational groups are more likely to attend than the rest.⁴

MOVEMENT BETWEEN CLASSES AND SOCIETIES

Classes and societies, it should be remembered, are by no means mutually exclusive. Not only are many people in the sample both members and students, but the degree of overlap in the past had been considerable. Chapter 5 (see p.53) noted that the great majority of those who are now 'members only' have had experience of classes - (68% of the men and 71% of the women). It is possible to add some information about the different kinds of past experience of classes among those who are still class students, those who are now members of societies and those who participate in both.⁵ The extent to which men move from classes to societies is illustrated by their past experience of 'hobbies'. 33% of the

men who are in societies but not in classes had attended 'hobbies' classes in the past, and this figure does not include those who enrolled for another class as well as joining a society. It is reasonable to expect therefore that a considerable number of the men now in 'hobbies' classes for the first time will join some kind of educative society later on. It also looks as if men and women taking liberal studies courses or women attending classes in various arts will be much more likely to join a society (in addition to or as an alternative to their class), than to remain solely as students. The table shows that those who are now 'society members only' had drawn their past experience of classes from all sections. This bears out the suggestion that people who join classes for practical instruction are likely later to follow up their interests in an educative society.

To sum up this chapter : men and women move freely between the different types of provision, so that contact with adult education may equip them for a range of leisure interests. Choice of subject, however, and the likelihood of enjoying residential experience are influenced to a marked and disturbing degree by the occupational and educational background of the student. Intermittent stimulus from adult education is very likely to precede the more prolonged association involved in membership of an educative society.

7

AN APATHETIC MASS ?

Adult education and educative societies attract only a minority of the population. To set that minority in perspective, it was necessary to examine the population of which it is a part. In 1948, Lord Beveridge estimated that 16.7% of the sample of the population he studied were undertaking some kind of social, cultural, or philanthropic activity, not only in adult education and educative societies, but also in trades unions, friendly societies and welfare services.¹ Mr Ruddock, using a less inclusive criterion than ours, cautiously reckons in *After Work* that 'the total participation in serious educational and cultural activities in Bolton' 'is about 6,000 out of about 120,000'. More generous criteria of 'cultural activity' only enable him to boost this 5% to 15%, or just short of Beveridge's figure.²

Ministry of Education statistics can be used to suggest how many people in each year are students in non-vocational classes. Those over eighteen years of age number something like 1,200,000, of whom 150,000 are enrolled in liberal studies courses organized by Responsible Bodies. The others are mostly in Local Authority evening classes, though some are in part-time classes for amateurs in art colleges. A quarter of the evening class students are enrolled in what the Ministry calls 'Women's Subjects'. In the research conducted by Mr Trenaman³ 23.9% of the sample, deemed to be representative of the whole adult population, had at some time undertaken non-vocational courses, but the experience was unevenly distributed. Using the same occupational scale as this report, he found that 77% of the Higher Professional and Executive Grades had had experience of non-vocational further education, compared with only 18.1% of the moderately skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled.

The previous chapters have confirmed these findings and have amplified them in some respects. Membership of this minority

increases with the length of full-time education, it goes up with a rising occupational status and it declines with increasing years. In his introduction to *After Work*, Professor Ross D. Waller asks, a propos of the non-participants, 'Is it anybody's business to draw this mass or any part of it into the cultural fabric of our society? It is not an inert mass, as anybody would soon find who started trying to organize it'. This is especially true, as Professor Waller suggests, if a would-be organizer forgot that people have a perfect right to be inactive, or to be active only in individualistic ways. No one should envisage a nation of 'joiners' as an ideal society; on the other hand no nation can live to the full if important sources of personal development are, for a variety of reasons, the preserve of a select group.

This chapter will clear some of the ground in the hope that the operation envisaged by Professor Waller will then proceed more efficiently. It presents information about representative samples of the men and women in Bristol, Letchworth and Basingbourn, who are not necessarily students or members. Is this because they do not know what facilities are available? To what extent have they domestic and other difficulties which might prevent their attending, even if they wanted to? How do they spend their spare time?

THE RANDOM SAMPLES

The Bristol postal area has a population of 443,000. Of these, 213 were interviewed: fifty-five men and fifty-three women in Fishponds, and in Westbury-on-Trym and Brentry forty-three men and sixty-two women. Fishponds is a densely populated, mainly working-class suburb on the eastern border of the city, untouched by Bristol's architectural virtues. Some of its nineteenth-century houses were originally built for miners and quarry workers. But Fishponds today is part of industrial Bristol, not of mining Gloucestershire. Westbury's parish church was founded in 1716, but in recent years 'the Village', as many of its inhabitants still call it, has developed, merged with and finally been engulfed by the expanding city. Psychologically it retains much of its historical autonomy and it is one of the most prosperous districts of Bristol. Brentry, once rural, is now a post-war housing estate, with trees and small shops as a reminder of its past, and a partly-turbulent

teen-age population to typify its painful adjustment to the present. Though these three places taken together are representative of Bristol as a whole, occupational status within the sample is not proportionately representative of Bristol's occupational range. Broadly speaking, the inclusion of Westbury yields proportionately nine times more men and women in the Higher Professional and Executive grades than does Bristol as a whole. The sample, then, can be used to compare these very dissimilar districts in the same city in many instances, but it would not be true to generalize from the sample to Bristol as a whole.

Letchworth has a population of 22,000. Of these, twenty-two men and thirty-one women were interviewed, all of them residents of two of the town's five wards. These two wards embrace a third of all Letchworth households (2,000 out of 6,000), and are socially the most representative. Architecturally, they reflect each phase of Letchworth's history, from property in the original village of Norton to post-war private and municipal building.

Approximately 10,000 people live in the 'catchment area' of Bassingbourn's Village College, 2,500 of them in Bassingbourn itself. Here fourteen men and seventeen women were interviewed.

TABLE 15
Random Samples : Ages and Sex Distribution

A. Men

Age Group	Westbury-Brentry	Fishponds	Bristol Totals	Places Letchworth	Bassingbourn	Totals all areas
18-24	3	5	8	1	0	9
25-45	13	16	29	12	7	48
46-59	19	22	41	4	4	49
60 and over	8	12	20	5	3	28
Total	43	55	98	22	14	134

B. Women

Age Group	Westbury-Brentry	Fishponds	Bristol Totals	Places Letchworth	Bassingbourn	Totals all areas
18-24	2	4	6	1	0	7
25-45	32	22	54	21	5	80
46-59	14	20	34	5	7	46
60 and over	14	7	21	4	5	30
Total	62	53	115	31	17	163

The Letchworth and Bassingbourn samples are very small, so that not too much weight should be placed on them, even though they were randomly selected. In the following tables, therefore, the figures are not presented as percentages. They are only meant to give perspective to the much more reliable and detailed information we have about students and society members.

TABLE 16

Random Samples (both sexes) : Distribution by Occupational Groups						
<i>Occupational Group</i>	<i>Westbury-Brentry</i>	<i>Fishponds</i>	<i>Bristol Totals</i>	<i>Places Letchworth</i>	<i>Bassingbourn</i>	<i>Totals all areas</i>
1. Higher Professional	17	1	18	2	1	21
2. Lower Professional	27	14	41	6	4	51
3. Highly Skilled	18	20	38	12	2	52
4. Skilled	19	29	48	15	7	70
5. Moderately Skilled	15	25	40	8	7	55
6. Semi-skilled	6	8	14	7	5	26
7. Unskilled	3	7	10	2	5	17
Unclassified	0	4	4	1	0	5
Totals	105	108	213	53	31	297

The scale used to differentiate one occupational group from another was again the seven-point scale used by BBC Audience Research. The ages at which the people in our samples had completed their full-time education are summarized in Table 17.

TABLE 17

Random Samples (both sexes) : Ages of Completing Full-Time Education				
<i>Age of Completion</i>	<i>Bristol</i>	<i>Places Letchworth</i>	<i>Bassingbourn</i>	<i>Totals all areas</i>
14 and under	112	34	18	164
15 and 16	61	10	7	78
17-20	25	5	3	33
20 and over	12	3	2	17
Totals	210	52	30	292*

*These numbers were five short because three men were still receiving full-time education, and two women did not answer the question.

The tables show that, random as the sample was, the people interviewed are in fact better educated than the public at large (see Table 12). Proportionately there ought to be about 220 in the group who left school at fourteen. The relative lack of advanced education among the older men and women is reflected when the sample is broken down into age groups. A woman living in Westbury (Bristol) was the only person over sixty to have been educated after the age of twenty.

ATTITUDES TO EDUCATION AND EXPERIENCE OF FURTHER EDUCATION

To discover how satisfied these men and women were with the education they had received, and to evoke their attitude toward education in general, they were asked: 'Have you ever felt that you would have liked more education or a different kind of education?' The wording suffers, perhaps, from a suggestion that it expects an affirmative answer, so that too much should not be made of the numbers who said they had wanted more education - 178 out of 297 (85 men and 93 women). More reliable is the size of the minority who considered that they wanted neither more education nor a different kind. In spite of the tendentious tone of the question 92 people were evidently satisfied. It is difficult to judge whether this meant that they would be resistant to the recruiting efforts of adult educationists; this would partly depend on the connotation they gave to 'education'. Nevertheless, nearly a third of the sample seem likely to have been satisfied with their schooling and that probably quietens the discontentment that drives some people into classes and societies. The comments on education were often illuminating. The carpet specialist who complained 'there's too much education' was a rare voice, though two of the women in Letchworth felt that education for girls was a luxury. One thought her nine years at school had been enough, and said, 'It seems that I have always managed to do as I wished, but boys *need* to be well-educated'. The other was an older woman who, while she would have preferred the education that children received today, believed nevertheless that 'money is wasted on girls' education'. A police sergeant considered that 'When you start a job you find out you don't have enough', and an assistant works manager confessed: 'If I'd listened to Dad I would have gone

to college. That would have helped me now'. There were some, of course, who said bluntly that they 'had enough of school' but many more expressed wise-after-the-event regrets, summed up in a crane driver's laconic 'I realize now'.

Table 18 records the numbers who had been prompted to take some kind of part-time education, vocational or non-vocational. It includes training courses in the RAF and other services.

TABLE 18

Random Samples : Numbers with/without part-time Further Education								
<i>Further Education</i>	<i>Bristol</i>		<i>Letchworth</i>		<i>Bassingbourn</i>		<i>Totals</i>	
	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>
Have had	51	56	13	7	7	6	71	69
Have not	47	59	9	24	7	11	63	94
Totals	98	115	22	31	14	17	134	163

Even these small numbers show the 'Trenaman effect' at work when they are analysed by age and occupation – those with most education go on to get more, and young people usually start with more than their elders, so that the situation is slowly improving. The extent to which this experience of further education in the samples includes 'adult education' is shown in Table 19.

TABLE 19

Random Samples (all areas) : Types of Further Education

<i>Further Education</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>
Vocational and Technical	60	40
Non-vocational practical	14	31
Liberal Studies	12	10
Weekend and Summer Schools	4	3
Correspondence Courses	7	3

The columns cannot be added up because a few men and women appear in more than one line, but they can all be measured against the total number of people in the whole sample – 134 men and 163 women. Nearly half the sample has received some kind of part-time vocational education, compared with Mr Trenaman's 34.6%, so that in this respect too the sample is comparatively better educated than the general population. 23.9% of Mr Trenaman's sample had at some time been engaged in non-vocational further education (more or less co-extensive with 'adult education' as

used in this report), and it seems probable that in the four areas being studied something like one adult in four will go to a practical non-vocational class, and something like one in every ten will attend a course in liberal studies. These figures are only approximate, of course, but taken together with Mr Trenaman's they are a warning against judging the social significance of adult education by the numbers registered in any one year. Almost one in four adults are touched at some time in their lives, so that they are not entirely a small inbred minority. What remains true, is that the other three-quarters tend to be concentrated in the lower occupational groups and in the higher age ranges.

KNOWLEDGE OF LOCAL FURTHER EDUCATION FACILITIES

Community workers are often struck by the extent to which people are unaware of social services that exist for their benefit. The relation between an awareness of facilities and the use of them is not a simple one, because it is partly conditioned by interest in what they have to offer. Some people already interested in adult education join classes as soon as they move to a new district, as one way of making friends in a strange place. Nevertheless, it seems probable that ignorance has some force of its own: an attempt was made to measure it. The question was posed, 'If someone were to ask you where to go for evening classes in this district where would you send him?' Given this form of words, an awareness of facilities would mean that they simply *came to mind*; this is less inclusive than that they were *known about*, but knowledge that comes to mind is more likely to be efficient.

It is common experience that everyone knows about everyone else's business in a village, whereas in a city this is not possible. It is therefore a reasonable hypothesis that the awareness of facilities will be in inverse proportion to the size of the locality. We approached the matter district by district, starting with the smallest. The pilot survey was conducted in Orwell, an isolated village, one of the most distant from Bassingbourn in the area of the Village College. There are only 422 people on its electoral roll, and thirty-one of them were interviewed, of whom more than half mentioned the College. Eleven knew that there were special coaches to it, though some understandably found the journey discouraging. This degree of awareness is surprising to the towns-

man, but it is naturally greater still in Bassingbourn itself, for the college stands near the village centre and by accommodating the secondary school, the County Library and the Child Welfare Clinic, it has more links with the population than most institutes for adult education. It is astonishing that as many as three people did not mention it. One of these, an RAF officer with mechanical and open-air interests, mentioned Hitchin 'for technical work'; an NCO, obviously interested in natural history and botany, would send seekers after evening classes to Royston. The third was a very elderly woman who was not even asked the question, because she became tired.

In Letchworth, there could be two correct answers to the question – the North Herts Technical College and the Adult Educational Settlement. They are within walking distance of all parts of the town. One would expect almost everybody to know about the College which was, only a few years ago, a small Further Education Institute about the same size as the Police Station next door; it is now a vast, modern building on a site in the town centre. One would not expect everyone to know about the Settlement. The building, which used to be the town's non-alcoholic pub, was once centrally situated. But since then roads have changed their direction so that the Settlement now nestles inconspicuously in a cul-de-sac. Eighteen men and twenty-two women (out of twenty-two and thirty-one) mentioned the Technical College, and these included seven women and two men who also referred to the Settlement. One woman quoted the Settlement in her reply but not the College. Awareness of the College, is, in short, widespread; but awareness of the Settlement is limited to about one in five of the adult population (if this is a fair sample). Eight people did not know about either. One of these was a comparative newcomer, but the others had been there from three to fifty years.

In Bristol it was necessary to ask two questions, the whereabouts of evening classes in the vicinity of the interviews and of those in the City centre. A man in Fishponds who mentioned four Evening Institute centres in this area and two of the main ones in the heart of Bristol was exceptionally well-informed. Most people only knew of one place where they would send an enquirer; some knew of two; and a few sidestepped the implications of the question by saying 'Ask at the Citizens' Information Centre' or 'Go to the Council Offices'. In Westbury and Brentry 28 men out of 43 and 45

women out of 62 mentioned at least one place where evening classes are held, and in Fishponds 38 out of 55 men and 39 out of 53 women made correct answers. That is to say, out of 213 people 150, or nearly three-quarters of the sample, were able to mention one local building where the local authority organizes classes. The City, in fact, breaks down psychologically into a number of 'villages', and there is a high degree of awareness, as judged by the lenient standard of knowing just one place. This is a fair standard; a man who knows one place can be referred to another if he has chosen the wrong one.

It may be, however, that ignorance keeps some Bristol people away from courses that are run by the University and the Workers' Educational Association. Many of these are held in the Folk House. A question about theatres makes it possible to compare consciousness in the outer suburbs of this centre for liberal studies (situated next to the Central Public Library and very near the Cathedral and the Council House) with consciousness of Bristol's theatres. Table 20 compares awareness of three main institutions in central Bristol with public awareness of the Bristol Old Vic at the Theatre Royal and the Hippodrome:

TABLE 20

Random Sample (Bristol, both sexes): Awareness of Centrally Situated Evening Classes and Theatres

<i>Institution or Theatre</i>	<i>Westbury- Brentry</i>	<i>Fishponds</i>	<i>Total (of 213)</i>
Folk House	25	18	43
College of Commerce	17	9	26
College of Technology	32	31	63
Old Vic	64	47	111
Hippodrome	51	71	122

The comparison may seem unfair because the theatre is much more publicized than adult education. But need there be such a difference? The status and impact of liberal adult education on public consciousness should be no less than that of a theatre with serious standards. When allowance is made for current conventions of prestige, and for the relative superior education of the sample it is remarkable that proportionately as many people in the Bristol sample know about the Folk House as did people in Letchworth about the Settlement, in spite of the vast difference in the size of the two places. In the two Bristol areas together, one adult in five

can be expected to know of the Folk House ; in Westbury-Brentry the proportion is one in four. The Folk House has enough influence to overcome the effect of urban size. But research is still needed on the image formed in the public mind by centres of adult education. Their function is often misconstrued and misconceptions deter potential recruits. The Folk House has been taken for an old people's home, and even in Letchworth it is often believed that the Settlement is a nest of cranks. It would also be useful to know more about the kind of expectation that may inhibit people from seeking educational satisfaction. Take the case of a forty-seven-year-old foreman in a plastics factory who confessed : ' I always wish I'd done languages, I would feel embarrassed to start classes at my age '. It is obviously important to publicize the men and women who, when they retire, learn Old Testament Greek, or Italian in order to enjoy Dante in the original. Or what of the Letchworth woman who said, with evident sincerity, ' I deeply regret that I had to leave school at fourteen, and that my education was not a much wider one ? ' What failure, social or personal, what assumption – perhaps that education is a process synonymous with school – had caused her to do nothing about making good the lack of which she was conscious ?

AVAILABILITY

A desire to join a society or a class may be present, but there are men and women, who are not, or do not feel, free to go out. Sometimes an urge to leave the house may be very strong, as with a housewife who said she would like to go dancing or visit a theatre or cinema, or do almost anything to get away occasionally from where she lives. But she is one of that fairly substantial minority who have invalid parents or an ailing husband, or tiny children and no baby-sitter, or a husband on shift work. In this the Bristol situation is typical of all areas.

It is worth noting that as many as fifty-seven men and women found it difficult to go out in the evenings – roughly a quarter of all the respondents : exactly half the women who said they could not go out are in the 25 – 45 age-group. No doubt ingenuity in circumventing domestic obstacles is sharpened by interest in what a social life has to offer ; but it is important to recognize that one in four of people like those in this sample (there are no

significant differences between one district and another) do not consider themselves free. Afternoon branches of the Townswomen's Guilds are finding that they have part of the answer for this problem.

This obviously does not imply that, if the one in four were free, they would be joining courses or educative societies; it simply suggests that any social agency must have a very powerful appeal if it is to break through the objective and psychological fences by which so many people are surrounded. When organizers are measuring their enrolment figures against the size of an adult population, factors of this kind need to be remembered.

Meanwhile, it is important to dispose of one possibility which the high proportion of immobilized people suggests – the possibility that most of the joiners are single, or childless. Centres such as the Folk House and the Settlement undoubtedly attract a considerable number of single people; but the answers given by students and members show that, for all areas, 66% of the men and 58% of the women were married, 51% of the men and 48% of the women had at least one child, and the majority of the children were still at school.

Mr Trenaman's findings also show that, taking the population as a whole, marriage and parenthood are not such formidable obstacles to social life as they are often thought to be. He discovered 'little appreciable difference between married and unmarried persons as a whole, and even less between those married with children and those married without children'.

MEMBERSHIP OF EDUCATIVE SOCIETIES AND OTHER GROUPS

Adult education is only one of the channels available to the adult who wishes to enlarge and interpret his experience; the other channel with which this enquiry was concerned includes those societies which educate their members in singing or succulents, radio communication or railway travel, pot-holing or poetry. How frequently does one encounter them in a random sample of the general adult public? To what other groups do they adhere?

Table 21 shows how rare is a contact with educative societies in the working-class district of Bristol and in rural Bassingbourn.⁴

TABLE 21

Random Samples (all areas) : Engagements in Educative Societies

<i>Area</i>	<i>Men</i>		<i>Women</i>	
	<i>No. in Societies</i>	<i>Of Total</i>	<i>No. in Societies</i>	<i>Of Total</i>
Westbury-Brentry	10	43	7	62
Fishponds	3	55	3	53
Letchworth	4	22	3	31
Bassingbourn	0	14	6	17

Table 22 gives the numbers of men and women who were members of other kinds of organization.

TABLE 22

Random Samples (all areas) : Other Forms of Community Participation

<i>Organisation</i>	<i>Bristol</i>		<i>Letchworth</i>		<i>Bassingbourn</i>		<i>Total</i>
	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	
Religious	40	62	8	13	4	9	136
Vocational	25	4	8	0	4	0	41
Political	4	6	0	1	0	0	11
Sports	28	2	6	0	0	0	36
Recreational or Social	31	25	3	5	2	0	66
Educative	13	10	4	3	0	6	36
No. in Sample	98	115	22	31	14	17	297

The numbers are very small and some men and women appear in several categories. But the dominance of religious organizations is unmistakable. All respondents were asked whether religion had become more or less important to them in recent years, and whether they were members or attended at services. Out of 297 men and women 86 said that it had become more important, 53 that it was less so. Where reasons were offered, they were highly personal and very remote in tone from the metaphysical confusion of our time.

The sample of the general public did not seem interested in joining political organizations, though the women showed slightly more enthusiasm than the men. In Bassingbourn, about twenty out of the thirty-one people took more than an electoral interest in local affairs. They considered the press reports of council meetings as worthy of mention, but some were more active—officiating as Clerk to the parish council or ‘arguing with the local council about the crows in the trees’. In Letchworth, the only sign of political concern was the fact that one woman was a member of a

political party. There were ten party members in Bristol but no one else evinced any interest in the subject.

On paper, membership of vocational bodies is much more common than of political organizations, but nearly half the members do not bother to attend meetings. So far as concerns trade unionists this is, of course, an almost universal complaint among organizers. But to talk of apathy is to describe a symptom, not to make a diagnosis. A butchers' assistant said, categorically, 'I don't believe in them', and an elderly hospital porter thought that Trades Unions 'can be as tyrannical as any other body'. What have the churches got that the Parties and the Unions lack? It would be relevant to discover whether religious organizations are using their influence to redeem the time of the elderly. Many churchmen and social workers charge some denominations with neglect, and hold up the concern of the Medieval Church as an ideal to translate into contemporary terms. In the United States faiths of all kinds seem more energetically interested in successful living for the elderly than they are here.

Finally, these varied community activities (religious organizations apart) only involve a minority of the population, though it is a somewhat larger one than that involved in adult education and educative societies on their own. The various associations listed embrace 53 of the 98 men, and only 36 of the 115 women in the Bristol sample. Participation in community affairs is particularly rare among the women of Fishponds; forty of the fifty-three women play no part in them at all. What then do they do? Are they, as some social critics fear, slumped in their armchairs absorbing television programmes, or are they literally and metaphorically, going to the dogs?

OTHER USES OF LEISURE

It isn't a sin not to be enrolled in an evening class or to abstain from organized social activity. It can be claimed, however, that no life is fully lived if it lacks creative effort. Had the uses of leisure been at the centre of this enquiry a more thorough technique would have been used, like that employed by Dr W. Belson when he studied the effects of television on leisure activities and interests. The method employed here encountered a dilemma, which needs to be borne in mind when evaluating its results. The

Orwell pilot survey showed that if respondents were simply asked to name their leisure interests, they might not recall them because they were unused to analysing their own behaviour in this way. On the other hand, to show a check list would be to prejudice their answers. Interviewers were therefore instructed to note first of all the spontaneous answers, then to show a list of forty representative interests, making it clear that they were only examples, and to record the additional interests then quoted. Even so, the television could be on when an interviewer called and yet remain unmentioned. A leisure interest can be taken for granted like the wallpaper.

There are many hundreds of leisure occupations ; and they may quickly become unmanageable for analysis. They have therefore been divided into : (1) *Active Outdoor* (e.g. gardening, servicing the car, sports, and walking) ; (2) *Passive Outdoor* (e.g. watching sports, going for car-rides) ; (3) *Recreational - Social* (e.g. having a drink with friends, talking, dancing, indoor games) ; (4) *Indoor Utilitarian* (e.g. home decoration, carpentry, dressmaking, knitting) ; (5) *Indoor Hobbies* (e.g. collecting of all kinds, crossword puzzles) ; (6) *Football Pools* ; (7) *Artistic and Educational* (e.g. theatre-going, playing an instrument, making children's toys, nature study) ; (8) *Mass Media* (e.g. cinema and television, collecting or playing gramophone records) ; (9) *Reading*.

The table on the following page shows the distribution of these interests among the whole sample, divided by sex and district. Before assessing the significance of this table, its limitations need stressing. It does not show the extent or quality of any of the activities ; it does not compare, for example, the amount of time spent in the garden with the amount spent watching television ; and the divisions made are somewhat arbitrary. Thus the table does not distinguish people who are decorating their homes discontentedly because they cannot afford to have it done professionally from those who are enjoying the satisfaction of a craft instinct. Again television viewing or going to the cinema are not as such inferior to reading or theatre-going and none of these activities is intrinsically active or passive.

With these qualifications in mind, it is worth observing a number of features of these interests ; for they delineate clearly the character of the popular culture, of which educative societies and adult education are a small, relatively sophisticated aspect. It is

TABLE 23
Random Samples (all areas) : Leisure Activities Mentioned

Type of Activity	Westbury-Brentry		Fishponds		Letchworth		Bassingbourn		Totals (of 217)
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	
1. Active open air	35	36	42	22	17	22	12	11	195
2. Passive open air	16	25	30	13	17	18	9	9	137
3. Recreational	19	35	39	32	16	22	13	12	188
4. Indoor utilitarian	26	52	34	46	18	29	7	15	227
5. Indoor hobbies	12	15	11	10	4	2	4	8	64
6. Football Pools	7	9	23	7	10	5	3	1	65
7. Educative	27	38	18	24	15	22	8	12	164
8. Mass media	26	52	45	39	14	27	11	14	228
9. Reading	21	47	15	27	8	18	9	14	160

not surprising that the mass media are regarded by the great majority as part of their leisure environment and that no other category embraces so many people. Virtually everyone has a radio, and about four in five have television. Very striking, then, is the parity of 'Indoor Utilitarian' with 'Mass Media'. Knitting, dress-making, embroidery, wallpapering, and decorating play an important part in our way of life; pride in the home is a dominating motive. In all areas, not only in Bassingbourn and Letchworth (the first Garden City), pride in the garden is one of the principal reasons why 'Active open air' takes next place. With the gardeners are the poultry-keepers, the garage-builders, the car cleaners and repairers, as well as the keen practising sportsmen. Judged by these standards, it is very heartening to notice that artistic, craft and educational activities are also prominent, even when their numbers exclude the home decorators. Observers who note with anxiety the pervasiveness of the mass media in our culture are selecting one aspect only of that culture. The corrective suggested in this analysis is symbolized by the back page of *Radio Times*. The ubiquitousness of the mass media is confirmed by the circulation of that journal—no other publication goes into so many British homes. Its advertising rates are accordingly high and its advertisements a reliable guide to the requirements of its readers. Out of twelve advertisements on the back of a typical issue seven were placed by manufacturers of garden sheds, green-houses and garages. The display advertising in *TV Times* (with a smaller but increasing circulation) tells the same story. Space for thirteen of the seventeen advertisements on one page had been bought by portable-building manufacturers. Popular culture in Britain is a domestic culture, centring on the home and the garden, and linked to the world outside through the television screen and the motor car. If adult education is to enlarge the capacities of more people, it must be relevant, and to be seen to be relevant, to this home and family life.⁵

There are two further points. First, this domestic culture is not, by and large, alternative to adult education and membership of educative societies. Almost everyone takes part in it; and we have some evidence that students and members are interested in more aspects of it (except gambling in football pools), than are their

neighbours. They are not only likely to be involved in other forms of social organization ; they are also likely to have many interests within the home. This however can only be an impression ; the number of 'joiners' in the population sample was very small. Second, for many people, the domestic way of life needs work to complement it and this raises a matter of importance for the enquiry. It will be considered in Chapter 9.

8

A SOCIALLY ORGANIZED MINORITY

Life in the private anonymity of the domestic culture is not necessarily empty ; it is more or less devoted to the socially necessary business of making family life a success. It is the persistent assumption of this report however that adult education and educative societies can help their participants to lead fuller lives, set in a wider context than the family alone, though it does not claim that outside them there is no salvation. The great majority of men and women may not be an apathetic mass. But what is it missing ?

THE SATISFACTIONS EXPERIENCED BY STUDENTS AND MEMBERS

‘ We are retired. We have benefited tremendously from continuing with literary and other branches of art. Literature is an extension of life, bringing me out of the narrowness of my early young life, my object being always a better and deeper understanding of the problems that beset my generation.’ So writes an engineer’s wife who left school when she was fifteen, over fifty years ago. A furniture packer in Bristol prefers ‘ the more informal activities that draw people closer and give one “ roots ” in this city ’. A gardener’s wife records herself as over seventy and says, ‘ Do not care for TV. Very fond of choir work and drama. There are very good facilities for all ages in this district ’. From a very different background, a vicar’s wife says : ‘ I decided the not very extensive time left after being a housewife, and mother, and voluntary church worker, should be to some extent used in (1) mental activity (learning a language – Italian, because we travelled there in 1957 and hope to in 1960), and (2) a manual skill – painting . . . I might well have chosen pottery and Hebrew . . . I enormously enjoy “ stretching ” my mind thus – perhaps it all makes me a better wife and mother.’

Not many people are as coherent as this about their reasons for

joining classes and societies, so that the next section needs to be read with reserve. Nevertheless, answers to the questions we raised do at any rate record motives and satisfactions of which the 'joiners' are conscious. They were asked, both of classes and of societies, what they particularly liked about them. There was a check list of possible satisfactions and room for others of their own devising. They were asked to indicate to what extent ('A lot,' 'A little,' 'Not at all') each type of satisfaction affected them personally. These were the possibilities offered: (a) the chance to make new friends, (b) the chance to meet people with interests similar to their own, (c) interest in what the society does/in what the class is about, (d) developing a new interest, (e) help in their work or occupation, (f) entertainment, (g) the opportunity to help in the running of a body which they wish to support, (h) the chance to be of service to others, (i) for the benefit they (will) get from it in retirement, or after the children have grown up. These suggestions were incorporated in the questionnaires after discussions on a pilot version with 'joiners' in the four areas. Table 24 shows the percentages of students and members who recorded 'a lot' for each of these satisfactions. The figures are expressed as percentages of the total number of possible respondents. The numbers may be too low, as no allowance has been made for those who were *prima facie* eligible to answer the question but chose not to do so. Considering first the 'Class Students' analysis, the four strongest motives are clearly identifiable. As one might expect, 'Interest in what the class is about' appears as the more important satisfaction,

TABLE 24
Percentages of Students and Members (all areas) recording 'A Lot' for different satisfactions

Satisfactions	Men		Women	
	Students	Members	Students	Members
'A Lot'	%	%	%	%
A. New friends	12	21	22	24
B. Similar Interests	30	41	31	34
C. Subject	69	58	71	53
D. New Interest	42	19	55	26
E. Help in Work	13	6	13	6
F. Entertainment	23	30	25	28
G. Worthy Body	8	22	8	18
H. Service to others	14	20	11	17
I. For Retirement	12	5	21	12
No. in Sample	265	318	541	474

and second, the cultivation of a new interest. The sharing of these interests with others is the third consideration, and the next most frequently mentioned is the sheer fun to be got out of adult education. These four motives affect men and women alike. Classes mean more to women as a source of new friendships and as a conscious preparation for retirement or for the partial retirement of the mother whose children have grown up. Although the questionnaire was not dealing with vocational education, 13% of both sexes felt that adult education had a helpful bearing on their work.

It would be commonsense to expect that the sociable and socially conscious satisfactions would count for more as 'society' satisfactions than as 'class' satisfactions (i.e. alternatives A,B,F,G, and H would be more important). This is actually the case. Support for a worthy body and service to others are more appropriate to this situation and they are mentioned more often. The search for new friends and the desire for entertainment play a much stronger part. 'Interest in what the society does' is naturally most important, but it is by no means as often mentioned as 'interest in what the class is about'. The pleasure of sharing that interest is one of the society's objectives. A class is an aggregate of individuals, who derive more satisfaction from their experience because they become a group with a tutor; a society is a group of people whose interdependence is wholly intrinsic to their activities. It is very striking, from the point of view of this report, that educative societies are thought of hardly at all as a source of enrichment for retirement. Once again, women are more consciously adapting themselves to their increased leisure than men, but neither men nor women expect as much help from societies as they do from classes, though some of the elderly in the sample derive much pleasure from both.¹

Preparation for retirement is apparently more likely to be achieved in classes than in societies, but the small number of people who consider this question at all is rather disturbing. These answers however were offered by people of all ages; interesting differences emerge when replies are related to the age groups to which the respondents belong.²

Women, at all ages, are more conscious than men that both classes and societies may be helping them to adapt themselves to increased leisure later in life. Nine out of the 22 women who are at least sixty recognize this as a reason for joining classes compared with only one of the eight men of the same age. Men in the age

group 46-59 are most aware of potential help in preparing for retirement. Older men emphatically look more to classes for socialibility than the younger ones – and the subject of the class or the need for new interests fall proportionately in significance, as they do also for women. Older men appear to become increasingly conscientious in their attitude towards societies, as activities which they wish to support or which give them opportunities for service to other people. Among older women, this altruistic motive applies more strongly in classes, compared with the other age-groups, and, correspondingly, they look to classes much less for their sheer entertainment value. Women who assert that their work is never done will note with approval that this satisfaction (Help in Work) from classes increases with age for them, while it declines and finally disappears for older men. Service to others and companionship with them are, in short, satisfactions which the older joiners derive from their activities to a markedly greater extent than the younger ones.

SOME INFLUENCES

The media of self-development studied in this enquiry are not necessarily suited to everyone's temperament. The point at issue throughout these chapters is the extent to which certain social factors make for exclusion, so that many people are cut off from the source of enrichment that should rightly be theirs. One factor may well be the experience of school itself. Before the 1944 Education Act, wealth segregated a minority, who were given special educational opportunities, from the great majority who were denied them. Since the Act, selection techniques have placed an apparently 'scientific' seal on segregation. While the numbers and proportions of young people who have a longer schooling have increased, the sense of rejection may well encourage hostility to education and to the culture to which education is an entrée. Anyone who leaves school in this ambivalent state of embitterment and envy (and Mr. Trenaman shows that almost half the adult population is more or less hostile to educational values) is very unlikely to benefit in later life from the intellectual stimulus, emotional growth and the sense of belonging which are fostered by adult education and educative societies.

Only a small proportion of the 'joiners' record any dislike of

school (10% of the men and 5% of the women). But many more men go on to other forms of vocational further education, so that school is not their last experience of organized education. 49% of the men and 61% of the women look back on their schooldays with pleasure, while the rest think of them with neither pleasure nor dislike.

The family is another factor that seems to be important in a 'joiner's' background. As many as two-thirds of the members and students in the sample come from families that have also included 'joiners'. It is impossible to say precisely on this evidence what form the influence has taken, but the proportion is too large for it not to be significant.

However predisposed someone may be to enrol in a class or subscribe to a society, at some stage a process of recruitment must occur. Organizers looking for new members and students often try to evaluate the efficiency of their publicity methods, and it is very common to hear voluntary and professional workers in adult education lament that their budgets do not allow them to spend more on advertising. It is frequently regretted that adult education cannot be promoted on hoardings and on commercial television. The questionnaire asked how the activity (class or society) first came to the respondent's attention. Notoriously, people do not always remember and are not always conscious of the effects of publicity, which in any case are often cumulative. Nevertheless, the answers of the joiners in the different areas are very consistent.

There is nothing to compete with personal recommendation. 51% of the men in all areas, and 57% of the women, had been recruited to their class or society by hearing about it from others. To judge from the replies, small-scale publicity (brochures, leaflets and handbills) is likely to be more effective than posters or press announcements. Only 9% of both men and women had been influenced by posters or notices in the local press, whereas 27% of the men and 32% of the women mentioned descriptive leaflets. These replies correspond to the expectations of officers of educative societies, judging by their own statements about methods of publicity in use.

They are not likely, however, to enlarge noticeably the social area of recruitment for classes, courses and societies simply because this enlargement will not take place through personal contact. The birds they have at present cannot be expected to do anything but bring in others with the same kind of occupational and educa-

tional feathers. This is a problem which is much more than a matter of publicity and recruitment, and it is discussed in Chapter 10.

THE SOCIAL ACTIVITIES OF STUDENTS AND MEMBERS

A 'joiner' is habituated to particular forms of co-operation ; he shares without embarrassment a kind of earnestness which is often puzzling to outsiders ; he has a conscientiousness about supporting voluntary endeavour, and he is, as we have just seen, most readily recruited through personal contact. There is, consequently, some justification for the classic consolation of the adult educationist, as typically expressed in the Ashby Report.³

Adult education . . . is an activity which only a very small minority of the population chooses to engage in . . . This minority includes a very high proportion of 'exceptional persons' ; persons who have so disciplined themselves, who have so enlarged and deepened their interests, that their beneficent influence on the rest of the population is out of all proportion to their numbers.

This survey has already shown that the minority is also to be found overlapping with the membership of the educative societies, and their opportunities for lump-leavening can now be established.

All the students and members receiving the questionnaires were asked about their membership of religious bodies, associations connected with their work (e.g. trades unions, professional bodies, chambers of trade), associations that have some political objectives, sports clubs, recreational or social clubs, and clubs or societies promoting hobbies and other cultural activities. The percentages of those who said they belonged to different types of organizations are shown in Table 25, compared with percentages of those who belonged to organizations in the sample of the general public. In every form of activity, the 'joiners' appear more frequently. Both men and women who are joiners are much less indifferent to organized political activity than is the public at large. It is significant, however, that the gap between 'joiners' and the non-joiners is not so large in the religious category.

It may be objected that there is a difference between paper membership and active participation. For the sake of convenience, we mean by active participation : (a) *frequent attendance* (defined

arbitrarily as at least once a month) and (b) *helping to run an organization*. This standard of frequency would lower some of the figures for bodies that meet quarterly, so that there seem to be more people who are or have been helping to organize vocational groups than attended regularly. Table 26 shows the percentages of joiners who are members, regular attenders, or organizers.

TABLE 25
Other Forms of Community Participation (all areas)

Organisation	Percentages of Samples Active :			
	Members and Students		Random Group	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Religious	49	73	39	52
Vocational	62	22	28	2
Political	17	22	3	4
Sports	35	14	25	1
Recreational	34	22	27	18
Cultural	69	60	13	12

Note : The periphrasis 'religious organisation' is used because in Hendon it is likely to be a synagogue—there are as many synagogues in the borough as Anglican churches.

It follows from the mode of questionnaire distribution that a very large number of joiners in all areas should be attached to the last group, called 'cultural' for convenience.

TABLE 26
Extent of Active Participation of Members and Students

Organisation	Joiners (Men) who :			Joiners (Women) who :		
	Belong	Regularly Attend	Organise	Belong	Regularly Attend	Organise
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Religious	49	33	20	73	46	27
Vocational	62	15	21	22	4	7
Political	17	5	5	22	7	6
Sports	35	20	17	14	10	6
Recreational	34	26	17	22	17	9
Cultural	69	58	25	60	50	21

The 'joiners' are active members of their religious groups ; they attend regularly and they have responsibility for its varied functions. They seem, in fact, to be active members of other associations ; though they do not show much interest in organized politics,

they are more interested in them than people as a whole. In every other sphere of social life, members and students are likely to be leaders. The word 'leader' is used for brevity. The questionnaire asked 'Do you help or *have you ever* helped to run the organization?' Those answering 'yes' are described as leaders. The likelihood is even greater among those who are committed to both class and society membership. Within limits, the more groups you join, the more you are disposed to join; and the more groups you join the more probable it is that you will become a leader. 48% of the 'male students-only' are in religious organizations: for every 3.4 of these men, one will be a leader. 47% of the male 'member-students' are in religious groups and for every 3.1, one will be a leader.

There is in fact about a one in three probability that anyone who is a member of an educative society and also at the same time a student in an evening class, will be holding office or will have held office in some other form of voluntarily organized community life. As the Ashby Report says: 'Without going so far as to assert that everyone who attends an adult education class is of the salt of the earth . . . we believe it to be broadly true that adult education students represent in relation to the community at large a social and intellectual asset the loss of which would be deplorable.'

THE INFLUENCES THAT PROMOTE SOCIAL ACTIVITIES

How does active participation vary with age, occupation and education?

Are the young 'joiners', for instance, likely to be more active in sports than in religious bodies? Are the mature more interested in politics than in recreation? By reading down the columns in the table on the opposite page, it is possible to compare the relative degrees of interest within age-groups; reading across gives some indication of the interests that command support from joiners of different ages.

As men approach middle age they are increasingly attached to organizations connected with their work; there is a slight decline as they reach retirement. The number of women in so-called 'vocational' organizations falls off steadily from the age of twenty-five onwards, presumably because of marriage. Men obviously become less actively interested in sport as they get older. There is

TABLE 27
Extent of Participation by Different Age Groups (Bristol and Hendon)

Activity	Men					Women				
	17-24 %	25-35 %	36-45 %	46-59 %	60+ %	17-24 %	25-35 %	36-45 %	46-59 %	60+ %
Religious	56	46	39	54	64	78	62	70	81	74
Vocational	49	58	67	66	61	32	26	20	17	9
Political	10	11	20	15	36	15	10	20	30	32
Sports	44	39	27	29	32	19	22	13	11	5
Recreational	37	34	28	31	39	17	25	17	23	12
Cultural	61	74	65	71	72	50	47	59	72	77
No. in Sample	41	111	82	65	28	103	156	162	122	43

much less social and recreational activity among women than among men. The religious concern of the youngest women is probably the most striking single fact that emerges. Political organizations provide the sharpest contrast. Joiners under thirty-five are much less active politically than their seniors, and political organizations have the smallest appeal to them of all the alternatives. Whatever the reason men and women interested in politics are more likely to be in their sixties than in any other age group.

Experience would suggest that the first two occupational groups would be especially involved in vocational organizations and in politics, that the less skilled might be more interested in recreational and sports clubs, and that the professionals and administrators would dominate the leadership of all kinds of voluntary activity. Are these expectations fulfilled by the facts about the Bristol-Hendon joiners? Our sampling suggests⁵ that outside their educative commitments, men in the first, second, third and fifth occupational grades⁶ are more likely to join vocational associations than any other voluntary groups. Skilled workers and semi- or unskilled workers are more associated with churches, chapels and synagogues. Every occupational group shows the same lack of interest in politics, and it does not concern the semi- or unskilled at all. Group 5 men are committed more often to sports and recreational clubs than to religious organizations, but they are the only men for whom this is true. Generally speaking religion and work make the strongest organizational appeal to 'joiners', whatever their occupation, and no male joiner's occupation is predictive of active engagement in politics.

Leadership is by no means the monopoly of the higher professionals, but men in this group who are members of religious, vocational and cultural associations are much more likely to be leaders than men in lower groups. Men in Group 2 are, however, as likely to have leadership experience in sports clubs as in vocational bodies even though they are much less likely to join them. In fact, Group 2 men spread their leadership evenly through these alternatives with the exception of politics. The likelihood of leadership in sports and recreational organizations is more evenly spread, with the exception of Groups 1 and 7, and a politically engaged man in Group 3 is much more likely to be a leader than those from other groups.

From a similar analysis of participation and leadership experi-

ence among the female students and members according to their occupational status⁷ the following points of special significance emerge : the greater interest of women joiners in religion is spread throughout the entire scale ; in every occupational category the women are more active than the men, and, cultural bodies excepted, no other type of voluntary organization begins to compete seriously for their attention. There is a tendency for women in at least four occupational groups, the professionals, the highly skilled, skilled and moderately skilled, to be more interested in political membership than are men in the same groups. A female student or member who is either in the first group (professional or higher administrative) or in the highly skilled group is more likely to be enrolled in a political organization than anyone else, of either sex. Like their husbands, or their male occupational equals, women in the semi- or unskilled grades appear to take no part at all in organized politics. Lack of opportunity or interest also exclude them from recreational clubs, whereas the men in relatively unskilled jobs are just as active in them as are men with more responsible or demanding work. It is no surprise that neither sports nor vocational groups matter so much to the women as to the men.

This analysis takes no account of the many different ways in which joiners may help to run voluntary organizations. Only further research could show whether joiners of all occupational grades take on more demanding responsibilities than leaders who have not had experience either in adult education or educative societies. In other words, this section suggests the extent to which members and students are willing to assume responsibility in organizations of different kinds. It cannot show whether their adult educational background improves the quality of their contribution.

The close correlation between occupational status and length of full-time education would make it reasonable to anticipate that religious activity would be universal among joiners, however much education they have had ; that political organizations are more likely to recruit those students and society members with prolonged schooling than those with either a university education or one lasting less than ten years, and indeed that those who have least education will show no interest at all in political organization. The women with least schooling, unlike the men, will tend not to join sociable or recreational groups. The extent to which these expectations are not fulfilled – and there are a number of discrep-

ancies between the influence of occupation and the influence of education – may be caused by the influence of part-time education after leaving school. Women who left school at fourteen participate much less in all kinds of activity, except that provided by religious organizations, than other women or than their male educational equals. Peak political participation is, as foreseen, among those of both sexes who left school between seventeen and twenty, especially among the women. Participation in sports and recreational activity is not more widespread among those with less education.

Broadly speaking, a highly educated person is more likely than anyone else to be involved in the whole range of voluntarily organized community life.

To sum up the situation revealed by an analysis of the figures, it can be said that men and women in adult classes or in educative societies are likely to be engaged in some kind of religious activity, regardless of their age, their occupation or the extent of full-time education. Political organizations make much less appeal to them than do other forms of community activity. Older 'joiners' are more likely to be concerned with politics than are the younger; the highly skilled and unskilled of both sexes are absent altogether from organized politics. In addition, unskilled women play a negligible part in recreational clubs. The more education a joiner has the more probable it is that he or she will be a member of a vocational association and (politics apart), the more probable that he will participate in the whole range of social activities. The men in higher professional occupations are very likely to be leaders of cultural, vocational and religious associations, but religious and vocational groups offer considerable opportunities for leadership to people of all occupations. If 'leavening the lump' means that students and members are not devoted solely to their educational or educative pursuits, but are active, as members and organizers, in other community groups, then the Ashby Report is amply justified.

There is, however, a further and a disturbing possibility. Since participation in adult education and educative societies seems to be so substantially related to membership and leadership in other aspects of community life the 'lump' might be a small one, busy leavening itself in isolation from the majority of people. Are we, in

TABLE 28
Extent of Participation by Age of Completing Education (Bristol and
Hendon)

Activity	Age of Completion (Men)				Age of Completion (Women)			
	14 or less %	15-16 %	17-20 %	21 or more %	14 or less %	15-16 %	17-20 %	21 or more %
Religious	46	43	56	48	69	70	70	73
Vocational	54	60	60	74	7	18	24	49
Political	13	14	22	16	10	17	28	24
Sports	30	31	35	40	2	17	19	18
Recreational	21	31	42	34	11	23	20	27
Cultural	60	66	70	88	33	57	72	68
No. in Sample	91	108	81	58	114	215	190	79

fact, studying an intensely organized way of life threaded through a culture that is predominantly not socially organized at all ?

Except for recreational organizations, the extent of participation among the ' joiners ' is very much greater than it is among those in our sample of the general public. Moreover, the representative sample of the general public includes members of educative societies and students at adult classes. However beneficial may be the influence of these exceptional people, it seems clear that a considerable proportion of the population is untouched by it. It is, in fact, the majority who are isolated, whether by chance or choice, from some of the most important aspects of community life.

9

RETIREMENT

When work finishes, the value of a 'domestic culture' diminishes. Since it seems to be a form of leisure partly created to bring refreshment to men who have been congregated with others at work, much of the pleasure it gives depends simply on its being a contrast. Thus, in Bristol, six of the fifteen retired men in the sample of the general public wished they were back at work. They nearly all missed the money and companionship, and some missed the work itself. Many of the interviewers did not ask this question of women, but at least forty-six had been at work before they were housewives, and of these nineteen wished they were at work again: they gave the same reasons, except that the money was mentioned less frequently, and the work itself more often. The need for companionship was stressed by both men and women. The replies of the few people in a similar position in the Letchworth and Basingbourn samples were consistent with those from Bristol. When the domestic culture ceases to have any hold on the will, the result is expressed by the old woman of eighty-three, sitting in her small cottage in Orwell, who said, 'It's too long to live . . . we're not wanted.'

ATTITUDES TO RETIREMENT

In this context the concern of the enquiry with the expansion of adult education and the fostering of educative societies is seen to be a policy for improving people's competence in using their leisure in ways that bring them also the value of companionship. It is not a policy to enable people to seek distraction, but to continue throughout life to discover their own potentialities, so that they are inspired by a sense, often lacking in the later years, that their lives still have a purpose.

Retirement is a phase of life for which preparation needs to be

made in good time, and that not only in terms of finance, accommodation and changes in family relationships. In the sample of the general public, all respondents were asked: 'At what age do *you* think that most people should be ready to retire?' The replies were divided into those whose comments showed that they thought there ought to be a fixed age of retirement and those who favoured flexibility. Ninety-four women were in favour of a flexible retiring age, fifty-four women thought it should be fixed. Men on the other hand preferred to know when they would retire (by seventy-nine to fifty-two). The age of respondents did not seem to predispose them to one practice rather than another, whereas their occupations significantly affected their attitudes. Both men and women in the Higher Professional and Executive occupations (Groups 1 and 2) were much more in favour of a flexible retirement age; opinions of the highly skilled, skilled and moderately skilled workers were evenly divided; but the semi- and unskilled workers, perhaps apprehensive of prolonged exploitation, clearly preferred the fixed age.

Conscious preparation for retirement is an unfamiliar idea; it is commoner in America than here. Regardless of their age, everyone to whom the question applied was asked: 'What would you like to do when you retire?' Any positive reply, however vague or conventional, was counted as implying some plan for retirement. The number of people who had no ideas at all is therefore most disturbing. Table 29 divides the sample by sex, age and occupation. The figures from Bristol, Letchworth and Bassingbourn are aggregated.

TABLE 29
Random Samples (all areas): Numbers having/not having Plans for Retirement

Occupation Group	Men		Women		Total	
	18-45	46-60+	18-45	46-60+	18-45	46-60+
1 and 2						
Plans	7	13	5	1	12	14
No Plans	3	3	1	1	4	4
3, 4 and 5						
Plans	25	26	9	3	34	29
No Plans	11	5	7	7	18	12
6 and 7						
Plans	4	7	1	1	5	8
No Plans	4	1	1	2	5	3

About a fifth of the entire sample have no ideas at all, even on the most generous interpretation. It includes nineteen of the men and women who should be most directly concerned.

In pre-industrial societies, the role of the few men and women who reached old age was comparatively clear. They continued to work and accepted a place of honour in a domestically united three-generation family. Now it is no longer rare to live to old age, yet we behave as though we wished conditions of work and the structure of the family had not changed over the centuries. We know they have changed, but there is resistance to thinking about the adaptations that retirement makes necessary in contemporary society. To return to the motif of the opening chapter, retirement is for many a time to fear; in extreme cases the fear is so great that it becomes unbearable. On the same day as this paragraph was written, the press reported that a sixty-nine-year-old London Civil Servant died of an overdose of sleeping tablets because he did not want to retire, and a Nottingham chemist electrocuted himself in his bath. 'I am an unwanted man,' he had said, 'thrown on the scrap-heap . . . when my mental capacities are at their best.' For every suicide, there is a known number of elderly people going into mental hospitals, and an incalculable number who are fretful and frustrated.¹ There are two tasks that need to be undertaken: that of helping the individual to prepare himself for the changes which take place when work finishes, or when the upbringing of the family ceases to be a primary concern; and that of developing the individual's talents throughout his mature life, so that his mind becomes a rich territory with its own power and its own harvest. Our society is not equipped at all for the first of these tasks, and is only grudgingly prepared to tackle the second.

A number of professional educationists doubt the desirability of making provision for members of a particular age-group. They would argue that social isolation is already part of the problem of retirement: should adult education encourage that isolation? Should not people of all ages mix together, so that the detached wisdom of the mature can complement the energy of the young and mellow the cynicism of the middle-aged? Is it not patronizing to lay on classes for the over-sixties? This view was well put by Mr Konrad Elsdon, then Warden of the Folk House, Bristol: 'We make special efforts to see to it that all our activities are conducted in such a way as to be suitable and indeed welcoming for the

elderly . . . it's better to make them feel that they are part of activities embracing all ages than to give them their wooden bowl in case they are too shaky to use the family china.'

Similarly, the Warden of Knuston Hall (Northamptonshire) prefers not to have age-segregated activities. She reports that retired people often go there purposely to get more from their new or impending leisure. A local district nurse, for example, had her retirement in mind when she arranged to take her holiday at the 'Painting for Pleasure' course. Beginners like the man who had taken up painting, recorder playing and the study of comparative religion because now he 'really has time to go into things properly' are an encouragement to those who are younger but lacking in confidence.

Attempts at age-integration are to be welcomed, and patronizing attitudes avoided. Nevertheless, it must be remembered that older people often prefer to be with those who have lived as long as they have themselves. There is a psychological freedom and security, an ease of communication, that can be harder to find when people of all ages are together. Experimental courses related to retirement are an appropriate educational response to those with problems that they do not share with younger people. Furthermore, it is sometimes easier to be one of a number of pensioners enjoying a specially subsidized class than to be the one older person who needs to apply for the humiliating privilege of paying less than everyone else. For reasons such as these, it probably pays to take the two opposing recommendations and to be flexible enough to act on both.

EDUCATION AND RETIREMENT

To estimate the extent to which population changes are affecting the content of adult education, a variety of agencies were asked whether they had organized courses or other activities expressly for the elderly, or classes about ageing for social workers and others with a professional or voluntary concern. They were also asked whether, and in what circumstances, they reduced or remitted fees to elderly students.

Though it may be concluded from this survey that we are hardly equipped at all to provide education for retirement in the narrower sense, there is a small but growing number of experiments that should be recorded, because they represent the earliest examples

of what must ultimately become a major sector of adult education. These experiments have been designed for those about to retire, for those who have retired, and for those who have an interest in older adults ; the difference between education for those approaching and those in retirement is not a sharp one in some cases.

FOR RETIREMENT : (1) INDUSTRY

A number of American industries and trade unions are now organizing courses for workers in late middle age. The University of Chicago, for instance, has prepared a Home Study course for members of the United Automobile Workers, so that they can in turn lead discussions. It is in five parts : The Problems of Older Workers ; Money and Retirement ; Health and Happiness in Retirement ; Family, Friends and Living Arrangements ; The Union, the Community and the Retired Worker. The Industrial Relations Center, also at Chicago University, publishes a number of *Making the Most of Maturity* discussion booklets, with titles such as 'Getting the Most out of Leisure', 'Where to Live when you Retire', and 'The Physical Side of Aging'. The reader is helped with numerous suggestions about how to use his time, how to budget, and how to get along with the wife whose lodger he has been all this time. All over the States, courses of this kind are being tried under various auspices – industry, adult education, labour unions, churches and various voluntary bodies. They are supported by a growing number of Federal and State Agencies and Councils on Aging. The content and presentation of these courses cannot be transplanted to Britain without some adaptation, and it may be that small group discussions would often need to be preceded by tactful, individual advice. Many people are quick to detect interference in their personal affairs ; and there is, undoubtedly, in many men and women, a determination not to think about retirement at all. It is too much like thinking about death.

Only a few firms in Britain are as yet concerned about these problems. But enlightened managements are becoming conscious of their responsibilities to their employees when they leave, not only in terms of pensions but in terms of personal welfare. This should ultimately be good for labour relations, but it sometimes arouses suspicions among workers and has to be expressed carefully. Cadbury Brothers of Bournville have recently held two

weekend conferences for their elder employees on the use of leisure. They were practical courses and dealt mainly with music, dramatics and painting. Several people were inspired by these weekends to pursue an interest more thoroughly through short courses at residential colleges (with the help of scholarships available from the Works' Council) or through evening classes.*

For ten years the Midlands engineering firm of Rubery Owen has run a special workshop, in which employees over sixty-five are able to go on working, at their own pace. The firm has now decided to run annual courses, including six lectures and a weekend school at a Warwickshire hotel, for employees reaching the age of fifty and for their wives. They cover the same ground as the American courses mentioned above. The project was originally planned by a panel of workers, and the scheme draws its expert advisers from the Medical Research Council, Birmingham University's Social Studies Department, the National Association of Women's Clubs and the Workers' Educational Association.

The Rubery Owen enterprise thus integrates an adult education agency with management, with workers' representatives and with medical and social organizations. It is likely to be a powerful way of making large numbers of people appreciate the relevance of adult education to their lives; and it is likely to help us to overcome the detachment and isolation from the community which is one of adult education's weaknesses at present.

FOR RETIREMENT : (2) COLLEGES AND CENTRES

Planning for Retirement was a weekend course at Braziers Park, a self-supporting residential centre in Oxfordshire, in October 1955. It was probably the first of its kind and the tutor was Dr Norman Glaister, the Director of Studies at Braziers Park. He entitled his sessions 'Creativity and Leisure', 'The Place of Retirement in the Pattern of Life' (in two parts - 'The Individual' and 'The Community'), 'Giving Shape to the Future' and 'Practical Plans for one's own Retirement'. These ingredients - a philosophy of ageing,

*Cadbury's also have two vigorous Pensioners' Clubs which use works' facilities (clubrooms, library, etc.) during the day. There are two lively Pensioners' Discussion Groups and a pensioners' Male Voice Choir which competes at local music festivals.

the fruitful use of leisure and practical problems of adjustment to changing health and income – are likely to be basic to most courses of this kind.

A course at Henley was organized in 1958 by the National Old People's Welfare Council in order to bring together two kinds of experts to discuss what the content of pre-retirement education should be – on the one hand gerontologists, social workers, educationists and others professionally concerned, and, on the other, those for whom retirement was imminent. The course was financed by the Gulbenkian Foundation, and there were four phases to its programme; introduction and orientation, lectures by the professional experts, an evening devoted to discussing the leisure autobiographies of some of the participants, and evaluation sessions. The Council has since published a Report entitled *Preparation for Retirement or Adjustment to Ageing*.²

Many of the courses at Denman College, the residential centre of the Women's Institute, attract women whose children have grown up and who have the time to learn a new craft or improve their command of an old one. The programme of *Life Begins at Forty* was explicitly designed for this group, though some of the enthusiastic fifteen who enrolled were nearer seventy than forty. The course opened with a keynote speech on 'The Joys of being Forty' and then looked at physical and psychological changes in middle and later life, and relationships within a growing family. There was a lecture by a Secondary Modern School headmistress on 'Educating our Daughters', and advice on how mothers can continue to educate themselves from a brains trust on 'Opportunities to Learn'. The range of opportunities was indicated by two contrasting talks – on 'The Pleasures of Reading' and 'Learning to Fly at Sixty'.

As at Denman College, it is remembered at Hillcroft College that retirement should not be equated with the sudden onset of spare time for men and career women. It also means the less sudden situation facing women whose families have grown up, or in some cases the equally sudden crisis caused by bereavement or the break-up of a marriage. Formally provided education can play an important part in helping a woman to orientate herself to a different life. There were four women in their fifties during the 1957-58 session at Hillcroft College where most of the students are women between twenty and forty who have not had any

advanced education but who seem likely through personal development and service to the community to justify a year's study. The Principal stresses the importance of the twenty to thirty years that a woman may have at her disposal after the so-called 'biological phase' of her life is complete; she points out: 'If we think of life in three periods--the time of childhood and school, the time of family and work, followed by the phase afterwards--all preparation is devoted to the first two periods, which may not be as long put together as the third.'³

IN RETIREMENT : (1) COLLEGES AND CENTRES

Opportunities to go for a year to Hillcroft are, however, very rare. Those who are approaching retirement are not so far likely to find agencies to help them except indirectly through classes in leisure interests. Those who have already retired may be fortunate enough to live in parts of the country where approaches to them as a distinct group of people are already being tried. Two Workers' Educational Association districts, Glasgow University and a number of local authorities are among the first to experiment.

The series of short courses held at Lamorbey Park Education Centre every year since 1956 are a good example of what different agencies co-operating together can achieve. The three parties involved are Chislehurst and Sidcup Old People's Welfare Committee which provides the students, the centre warden who organizes the courses (and acts as host and lanternist), and the Local Education Authority which meets the cost of them. There have been courses, usually lasting four weeks, on local history, natural history, historic houses and music. The scheme started on the coldest day in England since 1895, but nevertheless there were about twenty students from four or five clubs at the first lecture. Since then the numbers have risen to forty-five, partly through personal recommendation but also because the Committee laid on a coach to collect people from various points. (Lamorbey is some distance from Sidcup proper.)

Most of the club members would not have had the confidence to attend a course under auspices not known to them in other ways. They have had the satisfaction of relating their own memories of places, people and events to the more systematic framework offered by the lecturers. (This has prompted one club to organize a similar

course of its own with speakers from Lamorbey's Local History Society.) Lecturers' fees and expenses are met by the Local Education Authority. The students' expenses, including fares and refreshments, are met partly by the students themselves and partly by the Welfare Committee. Members pay their own coach fare on the 'annual outing' (which is actually a study tour) but the Old People's Welfare Committee pay for their tea.

Lamorbey Park, in addition to being a Kent Education Committee Centre, is also one of the twenty-eight affiliated to the Educational Centres' Association. There are two other affiliated centres that have activities expressly arranged for the elderly - Avon University Settlement (Bristol) and the Percival Guildhouse (Rugby). The Evergreens' Club at the Settlement offers 'not only a weekly entertainment but educational lectures, film shows, etc.'. I started the Friday Club (while I was Warden of the Guildhouse) with two objects: first, to provide intellectual stimulus for those members of the Guildhouse who found they were now deterred by the weather or the dark from attending courses in the evenings, and for those other older people in Rugby who were not attracted by the more narrowly social activities of existing clubs, none of which met on a Friday; second, to test in practice my conviction that it was just as feasible for a group of elderly people to plan and manage their own educational programme as for any other group, relying on the Warden only for help in finding speakers, guidance on procedure and so on. In addition to organizing talks, educational outings, and discussions on the arts, current affairs, local history and other liberal subjects, the Friday Club makes a contribution to the whole community by the interest it takes in those elderly people in Rugby who are now frail and dependent.

There are many elderly people in the Rhondda Valley: while the Educational Settlement at Trealaw (Maes-yr-Haf) makes no specific provision for them it has helped to promote a number of independent centres for old people. They offer little or no formal education, but they run choirs, show films, act plays and administer self-help welfare schemes. The centres are enriching the lives of ex-miners and their wives, many of whom left school at twelve. At Maes-yr-Haf a high proportion of the students at craft classes are over sixty. Some years ago the centre successfully trained a group of retired miners in rug-making.

A few of the residential colleges have organized courses for

older adults. Those at Lambton Castle (Co. Durham) have taken place two or three times a year since 1956. They are organized expressly for members of Over Sixty Clubs by the College in co-operation with Durham and Northumberland Old People's Welfare Committees. A hundred Durham club members, twenty-five men and seventy-five women, attended during 1957-58. The subjects included 'Care of the Feet', 'Keeping Healthy after Sixty', 'Accidents in the Home', as well as 'Paintings in Bowes Museum', 'Flora and Fauna of Durham', 'Songs of the Hebrides', and the work of magistrates and the works of magicians.

The course held at Urchfont Manor (Wiltshire), in March 1958, was planned jointly by the Warden and the Wiltshire Council for the Care of the Elderly. The programme consisted of group discussions and activities stimulated by talks and demonstrations on 'What the Writers have Said about Old Age', 'Keeping Healthy in Retirement', local archaeology, music and music-making and social legislation affecting the elderly.

IN RETIREMENT : (2) LOCAL EDUCATION AUTHORITIES

The local education authorities have a statutory obligation to provide adult educational facilities, especially for leisure time and recreative activities, but like other agencies, many of them have not considered it necessary or desirable to make special provision for the elderly. It was easy to approach every residential centre and most of the Responsible Bodies, but it would have been difficult to discover what response all 146 education authorities are making. However, twenty-five authorities were approached, all known to be carrying substantial programmes of further education.

Fifteen of the twenty-five were making some separate provision for the elderly, especially for those who are already 'segregated', by necessity or choice. Thus, several Old People's Clubs take advantage of Nottinghamshire's Panel of Speakers, a scheme that helps groups to plan their programmes by providing speakers at the authority's cost, on a variety of topics. Lancashire County Council provides a full-time craft teacher for the elderly chronic sick in Wesham Park Hospital; Norfolk, in co-operation with the County Social Services Department, also provides craft instruction for those who are in hospital or in homes for old people. Nine centres are visited once each week for a session of two hours.

Hendon supplies handicrafts instructors at two Homes in the borough. Equally justified are the classes and activities that are run in Old People's Clubs : Darby and Joan Cookery (at Swansea), for example, tutor-conducted choirs (East Sussex and Hertfordshire), or crafts such as dressmaking, basketry, puppetry and toy-making (Hertfordshire, Somerset and East Sussex). Some administrators are less confident about the validity of classes in evening institutes that are restricted to old age pensioners ; in fact, these do not always succeed. Several Local Education Authorities have offered classes that have not attracted sufficient enrolments. Chester College of Further Education recently (1959) arranged classes in a wide variety of subjects that led to an enthusiastic paragraph in *The Times* but to only one student !

Some authorities have been successful though they stress that separate provision is exceptional. They include Lancashire (e.g. three afternoon craft classes for Old Age Pensioners in Eccles Evening Institutes), East Riding and West Riding (a proliferation of choirs for the elderly), Somerset (craft classes in, for instance, the villages of Chard and Watchet), and Kent (the Lamorbey courses, already described). The total remission or reduction of fees is one of the advantages of this kind of provision, but it is almost universal for authorities to remit or reduce fees in cases of individual hardship. It is reasonable to assume however that many elderly people would prefer to stay away rather than apply for a concession.

At least one other local authority has organized a residential course. East Sussex ran it in Brighton in co-operation with the Sussex Rural Community Council. It was called *Interests in Retirement*. The interests included opera, the history of moving pictures (from the apparently moving multi-legged animals in Spanish cave drawings to the present day), books (including a list of books published in large print), health in retirement, Sussex in history (as seen through two hundred coloured slides), and social history.

IN RETIREMENT : (3) THE GLASGOW EXPERIMENT

One of the most ambitious projects is being established in Glasgow, geographically beyond our terms of reference, but too important to be ignored. It is being planned at civic level, so that all older workers may benefit, not only those in larger firms with ampler resources and enlightened managements. This scheme was

originated by a student and voluntary organizer in the WEA. Some fifteen years ago Mr Daniel Grant, now working in the personnel department of a world-famous engineering firm, heard Dr James L. Halliday, a Regional Medical Officer of the Department of Health for Scotland, lecture to a meeting of WEA study-groups on 'Anxiety and Ill-Health among Old People'.

Some years later he undertook a private investigation of the health and economic problems of the 125,000 old people in Glasgow; in over two years he saw almost everybody concerned with these matters – either through specialized medical or other gerontological knowledge, or through civic, managerial or trade union responsibility – including the Lord Provost himself. As a result of many interviews and visits, Mr Grant had two valuable assets – a synoptic grasp of the complex of issues affecting the elderly and those about to retire in Glasgow, and personal contact with everyone likely to be able to do anything about them. His employers and the WEA together made it possible for him to devote three months' full-time to writing a report and to helping to prepare a conference which was held at the Lord Provost's invitation on October 12th 1957, in the City Chambers. Thus, from the start, the Glasgow projects have had the interest of the City authorities at the highest level, and of a major adult education agency. The Council now has a constitution and two working parties, drawing together representatives of industry, medicine, Glasgow Old People's Welfare Committee, and adult education. The Council has as one of its main aims the establishment of occupational centres. These technical centres will accommodate workshops for daytime use by retired workers, and a toolroom, equipped with heavy plant, available during the day for the retired and workers on nightshift, and in the evenings for those on the dayshift.

It is hoped that the Crafts and Hobbies Council might negotiate commercial contracts for retired workers in Technical Centres (for the manufacture and repair of footwear belonging to members and residents of old people's clubs and homes, for instance; the repair and maintenance of radios and electrical appliances belonging to them; making toys and novelty stationery; dismantling surplus electrical equipment in order to sell the parts; making plaster and pottery articles; producing knitted goods by machine and manufacturing mechanical aids for the disabled). These suggestions are believed to be practicable and suitable tutors and demonstrators

are available. A centre for general use might be run by a voluntary committee of members with a supervisory warden or secretary, but the staffing of centres like those planned in Glasgow could resemble the Ministry of Labour's Rehabilitation Units, with personnel responsible for training, methods-study, accounting, publicity and sales. Instructors' salaries might be grant-aided by the Ministry of Education and part of the administrative costs met by income from commercial contracts.

Another possible development which is under discussion is a civic pre-retirement education scheme, civic because many Glasgow firms do not have Medical Officers or an Employee Relations Department. The scheme would be developed by, for example, Glasgow University Extra-Mural Committee, the Scots TUC, the Institute of Personnel Management, together with other educational and geriatric authorities.

At least two of the large industries supporting the project are experimenting with different methods of encouraging their ex-employees to enjoy their retirement, by arranging exhibitions of their handiwork at the factory, organizing social events, discussions, film shows and lectures, and by welcoming retired men to stay in or join recreational groups attached to the firm, going in for angling, archery, bowls and photography (still and movie), dramatics, golf, model engineering, rifle shooting and snooker. One firm has a Retired Employees' Association with over three hundred members, which does not simply minister to their welfare needs, but sponsors two research projects through which retired men help themselves and the community. One is working on medical provision and hospital services for the elderly in Glasgow and the other is trying to see what occupational activities by the elderly could be economically viable. It must be stressed that the sponsors of these Glasgow experiments want no more truck with cheap labour or substitutes for adequate pensions than the unions do; they recognize that even a retired man with a full wallet may go senile with boredom.

IN RETIREMENT : (4) OLD PEOPLE'S CLUBS

Many people, when interviewed in the research areas, thought of 'clubs' as the answer to the leisure problem of the elderly. There is no evidence, however, that most older men or women would agree. None of the eight men and women aged at least sixty

in the Bassingbourn sample belonged to an over-sixties club, though three of the women said they would like to. Invalid spouses or personal disability prevented them from joining. In Letchworth one man belonged to a club that meets daily but eight did not want to join it. These small figures are of course prone to sampling error, but they are consistent with the Bristol replies, and with the findings of other research workers. There were 41 men and women over sixty in the Bristol sample. Four of them belonged to old people's clubs, 11 said they would like to, and 22 said they were not interested in joining. Though one woman who would like to be a member said, incorrectly, that there was no club in her locality, it seems likely that 14 out of 41 of the men and women over sixty in Bristol, who did not know of any old people's clubs, were mostly ignorant because they were indifferent, not absent because they were ignorant.

Consequently, widespread indifference to old people's clubs has to be borne in mind before attempting to indicate their potentiality for education. A survey was carried out in York in 1949, but it was so comprehensive that its findings on this matter deserve a paragraph, since virtually all the older citizens in York were interviewed. Additional questions were put to any of them suffering or likely to suffer from a disability needing social care. At least one of these disabilities affected 62%. (It is a challenge to complacency that the subsequent years are unlikely to have made much difference to this proportion.) Three-quarters of those with disabilities were nevertheless completely unrestricted in their movements and only 6% were unable to leave their homes. Even so, only about one in eight of them belonged to a club of any kind, whether expressly organized for the elderly or not. Table 30, derived from the report,⁴ shows in percentage the affiliations of these 797 club members :

TABLE 30
Percentages of 797 Men and Women, over 60 and with Disabilities, in membership of Various Clubs (York, 1949)

<i>Club</i>	<i>In Membership</i>
	%
Working Men's	56.2
Church/Chapel Club	8.9
Old Age Pensioners	6.5
Old People's Welfare	6.0
Political Club	5.7
Rowntree's	2.5
British Legion, Old Comrades, etc.	2.4
Others	21.8

The large membership of Working men's clubs (and this figure conceals the fact that 73.1% of the older *men* were members of them) reflected, as the report observes, 'an overwhelming turning to a group where they were assembled as "men" rather than as "old people"'. The last category ('Others') includes fifteen people who mentioned Adult Schools and twelve who belonged to Mothers' Unions. The implications of this table are only just beginning to make themselves felt in Old People's Welfare circles. Clubs designated for the elderly are well worth improving, because the small percentage of members throughout the country is still a large number of individual human beings. But no one should be deceived into thinking that clubs are an adequate response to the need to make leisure more meaningful in old age.

It may be that many older people have an inaccurate image of a club for their age group. The club names might be calculated to keep away anyone whose age seems to him of little consequence and most of the substitutes (Evergreen, Darby and Joan, Sons of Rest) have a taint of euphemism. Too many clubs are run by the earnest middle-aged woman who likes to surround herself with dependent and grateful older men and women, whom she probably calls 'her old folk', and for whom she runs a programme of dominoes and a cup of tea, which she imagines meets all their intellectual and social requirements. But the advocacy of progressive ideas, by the National Old People's Welfare Council (and their embodiment in training courses), is beginning to have an effect; and it now is worth while for an elderly person who finds the company of his contemporaries congenial to investigate whether the club in his vicinity is among the growing number of good ones.

A good club recognizes that the planning of recreational and educational programmes differs in kind from the organization of such welfare services as chiropody and meals-on-wheels. The needs of the elderly should be met by planning *with*, not *for*, them. The emphasis should be on the opportunity for individuals to exercise choice, and on the recognition that interests are as diverse among the elderly as they are among any other age group. There are more and more clubs that recognize this. As they do so, they will not foster dependence and lethargy; on the other hand, they will not insist on giving responsibility to the unwilling or on frustrating the man who in fact likes dominoes and tea.

Some fifty-three clubs were recently visited by officials of the

National Old People's Welfare Council in Yorkshire, Northumberland, Durham, Hampshire, Wales and elsewhere. Some of the clubs met daily, others only once to three times a week. They were not representative because they were all applicants for a grant from the King George V Jubilee Fund. But it is heartening to note that out of the fifty-three clubs, twenty-nine were wholly or partly managed by their members, though twenty-one had little or no self-government. Thirty-nine of the clubs arranged educative activities that made choice possible. Twenty-nine of them put on concerts or pantomimes; twenty-three had craft classes or sewing circles; twenty had occasional film shows; sixteen had choirs; ten ran drama groups; and seven organized talks and discussions. There is a distinct connection between self-government and a range of educative activities. The position in the fifty-three clubs can be summed up in this way. Four of them offer at the best only social or medical amenities; five run themselves to a great extent, but do not want any educative activities; nine allow little or no participation by the members in management but have an educational programme; thirty combine a considerable measure of democracy with programmes that go far beyond the usual recreational and welfare provision.

The clubs for old people that are also constituent members of Community Associations are often in a position to have the best of two worlds. They are an autonomous but integral part of an all-age organization. Again, many of the Associations do not distinguish members on an age basis. But while elderly men and women are commonly found taking part in whist, drama, dancing and discussions, fifty-three out of the ninety-six Community Associations completing a questionnaire for their National Federation in 1954 sponsored groups which were explicitly for old people. Wardens frequently stress the independence and self-management of these groups.⁵

The members of most clubs are working-class people; but the need for sociability and the sharing of mutual interests knows no class boundaries. A number of professional men and women have formed an association called 'The Sundial Society' which keeps its members in touch with each other through its publication *The Sundial Magazine*, through meetings and through correspondence between people interested in discussing the arts, chess, gardening, music, etc. The Society has formed a Research Group in London

to study pensions, accommodation, health and other problems. Mr D. Dixon, the General Secretary, is a man who has successfully adjusted to his own retirement. In addition to running the Society he is a technical journalist; and he uses the contacts he made during his career to arrange trade missions of clay technologists to the Continent and the Soviet Union.

As a tailpiece to this section, it should be added that an increasing number of old people's homes are appreciating the therapeutic value of educative activities, that offer choice and the stimulus of personal achievement even to the very frail. The Home for Aged Jews in Clapham (London), for example, where there are 170 residents, produces craft work of an exceptionally high standard, done by men and women many of them very old. As Dr J. H. Sheldon has said: 'The key to physical vigour to so many old people lies in their state of mind . . . some of them are liable to a state of mind which approximates to that of the old mediaeval sin of *accidie*; and it behoves us to pay regard to those factors in the environment which can help precipitate this peculiar mixture of sadness and apathy'.⁶ The work of occupational therapists with the very frail is a strong *a fortiori* argument for the theme of this report. It is never too late to become a more accomplished human being; but to be realistic it can never be too soon to take in hand the work of one's own spiritual enlargement. By failing to do so, we do indeed guarantee for ourselves a future shadowed by that 'peculiar mixture of sadness and apathy'. Some of us have within ourselves the resources for nourishing our own development; most of us depend on the stimulus of learning with others.

EDUCATION ABOUT AGEING

Apart from references to ageing in courses on social administration, social psychology or industrial management, we are aware of at least two non-residential centres, three short-term residential colleges, six Responsible Bodies and some other more specialized organizations that have given some attention to this relatively new subject. In 1954, Pontypool Educational Settlement held a one-day school on the employment of the elderly worker, conducted by Mr F. le Gros Clark and attended by trade unionists and personnel staffs of local industries. In 1958, the Social Study Group, a constituent body of Letchworth Adult Educational Settlement, produced

an informative pamphlet about social provision for ageing, an example of an uncommon type of adult education which could be more widespread. The production of *Focus on Old Age* equipped the Group to give major assistance in gathering information for the parts of this report which refer to Letchworth. It has now become the research unit of the Letchworth Council of Social Service. The moral of this for the educationist is that in certain settings it is possible to achieve a high and socially useful standard in a group which plans its own syllabus and uses lecturers as one means of answering questions co-operatively formulated.

The three residential colleges which have run courses on ageing are Wansfell (Essex), Attingham Park (Shrewsbury) and Knuston Hall (Northampton). Dr Alex Comfort, Mr W. A. Sanderson and the Rev. A. T. Welford lectured on biological, demographic, social and economic aspects of ageing at Wansfell in December 1956. A year later there was a successful weekend course for medical practitioners and nurses at Attingham Park – in association with the Shropshire Medical Geriatrics Committee and the county's Old Folk's Welfare Committee. This course was specially concerned with the welfare of the elderly in their homes. A number of courses for Old People's Welfare Committees have been arranged at Knuston Hall.

A course at Glasgow University for the lay public in 1957-58 was similar to the Letchworth Social Studies Group project. The tutor (Director of the Govan Social Survey) wanted to involve his students in practical activity, as a means of gaining insight into social science methods. The students engaged in different activities – (1) lectures and discussion on social survey work and on the subject of the course ('Growing Old'); (2) interviewing various officials in the manner of a committee of enquiry; (3) interviews with old people by class students; (4) visits to various institutions and corporation departments; (5) analysis, sorting and other clerical tasks involved in social surveys. The variety of tasks enabled all students to participate. The class produced a valuable report, *A Review of the Services for Old People in Glasgow*, which pays particular attention to pensioners over seventy years old who were living alone, and the extent to which they used the available services.

Among the specialized agencies that report study or training activity are the National Old People's Welfare Council, the Central Council for Health Education, and the National Association for

Mental Health. In an article entitled 'Is this Adult Education?' Mrs Phyllis M. Forman describes the use of a £40,000 grant from the King George VI Foundation to the National Old People's Welfare Council, to finance training courses for voluntary workers, potential wardens and matrons of Old People's Homes and refresher courses for experienced staff. The scheme includes courses for tutors so that the number of students may be greatly enlarged. Mrs Forman stresses that these various courses 'should be true adult education, and not a mere transfer of technical information'. The Training Committee hopes, indeed, that by the time its capital grant is exhausted, there will be enough evidence to persuade Local Education Authorities, extra-mural departments, and other educational agencies that this is appropriate work for them.

The Central Council for Health Education has run an In-Service Training Course for different health departments and a national one-day conference on 'The Elderly in the Community'. In his address on the training course, Dr Dalzell Ward urged a more positive social attitude towards the elderly as essential to their well-being and their ability to contribute to society. He was inspired by American experiments to reject the gloomy picture 'of protective welfare and medicated survival' and to welcome 'the possibility of the community's accepting the education of the elderly as a duty . . . The practical results of such education . . . may go further than mere occupational therapy'.⁸

There is a tendency for different agencies to experiment in isolation from each other: it would be useful for those who have experience to compare it and work out a plan for development, involving all the appropriate medical, welfare and educational interests.

But though further examples have come to light since the survey was made it can fairly be said that adult educational bodies (and organizations relevantly concerned with the education of adults) have only just begun to respond to the needs created by the new population structure. The survey itself has encouraged several organizers to look at this problem for the first time.

10

EDUCATION AND THE ENJOYMENT OF RETIREMENT : POLICY SUGGESTIONS

The necessary conclusion is that adult education must not be regarded as a luxury for a few exceptional persons here and there, nor as a thing which concerns only a short span of early manhood, but that adult education is a permanent national necessity, an inseparable aspect of citizenship, and therefore should be both universal and lifelong.

—Introductory Letter to the 1919 Report¹

There are cogent reasons why it is relevant to start this concluding chapter with an account of an experiment in adult education which was tried nearly thirty years ago and that had nothing to do with ageing men and women. The findings of this report are strengthened by the experiences gained at Wincham Hall (Cheshire), a venture that was praised in the Pilgrim Trust report *Men Without Work*, but which does not seem to have been evaluated in post-war writing about adult education.²

THE WINCHAM HALL EXPERIMENT

Wincham Hall, within reach of a quarter of a million unemployed, was opened as a residential centre in 1933 with Mr and Mrs Frank Milligan as its Wardens. Just under a third of those who attended its courses were quite unused to reading and writing. They knew the mechanics of both but they could not get information out of a book or compose a simple letter ; a few were wholly illiterate. In spite of poverty, cramped housing and unemployment, some men and women had succeeded in keeping their interests alive in the occupational centres that were set up in the depressed areas. They went to classes in woodwork, metalwork, or motor-engineering, or to classes that taught them better mastery

of the language. Occasionally a group would produce a play written by one of its members, or publish a magazine that was written, illustrated, typed and duplicated by out-of-work men and women.

It was from these centres that Wincham Hall drew most of its students.* At first many of them were defensive, thinking there must be a 'catch' in the easy atmosphere; then, finding that the respect and friendliness were genuine, they responded to it. Wincham prevented men from acquiescing in misfortune; it developed in them powers of initiative and a constructive attitude to live by. 'If this was what the distinguished Civil Servant meant when he described me as an agitator', Mr Milligan has written, 'then he was right, for all teachers should be agitators in this sense, they must forever be stirring up ideas'.

Mr Milligan has expressed his approach to education in this way: 'Obviously the best person to decide what to do with his spare time is the individual himself. There must be no dragooning, for this would be the direct negative to what we hope to achieve. All we can say is that its use should be directed towards growth and not towards stagnation, towards creation and not passivity, towards criticism and not blind acceptance, simply because life means creation and growth, and stagnation and passivity spell death. We must, however, provide the conditions of life, a culture, a medium in which growth is possible. Today most men, and particularly the unemployed, are existing in cramped and disheartening conditions. Valuable as are the various centres, they have impinged on their lives from outside. Until they become the product and concern of their members they can only serve to counteract to some extent other outside influences. The purpose of the occupational centre, service club, or any other institution, must become self-directed and self-fulfilling. *It must not be a tank built and filled by others* for our use but a freshly welling spring'.³

From recent interviews with some of them it is clear that men who had experience of Wincham Hall are still conscious of the centre as a turning point in their lives. Many of them are now within sight of retirement. Some of them had no subsequent experience of adult education; but all are conscious that their single

*They came in the first place for six weeks, but at the end of the first week they could decide whether to extend this stay to three months.

contact with it has been of life-long significance. 'If the use of leisure depends on personal choice', Mr Milligan has written, 'then a man must know something of his own ability and capacity, and what opportunities life can offer to him so that he may exercise that choice freely and wisely. Money in his pockets is not enough; education too is necessary'. Education at Wincham Hall enabled men not only to know something of their own abilities but to *believe* in those abilities in spite of their enforced idleness. The conclusion is that even limited experience of adult education, if it is of the right quality, can so affect a man's attitude towards his own competence that it will see him through life and, as an indirect result, enable him to adjust more successfully to his retirement.

A second conclusion springs from the analogy between unemployment and retirement. For those about to retire and for those in retirement, it is helpful to see their problem as a social one, and not as evidence of personal failure. Retirement, like unemployment, can be an opportunity for exploration. Education can increase the self-respect of the ageing, as it did with the social rejects of the depressed 'thirties.

A third point of special interest about Wincham Hall was the success with which art, manual skills, clear thinking and habits of initiative were encouraged in men whose life-histories consisted only of poor schooling, unskilled labour and rejection from the economy. They were in fact drawn from the three occupation groups seen to be relatively absent from adult education and the educative societies described in this report. Such success among the less skilled members of the population (and the same can be claimed for many Adult Schools and Community Associations) is of crucial importance, since a cynic might suspect, and be supported in his suspicion by much of this report, that adult education is necessarily a minority service and that by and large its small scale is appropriate.

The first obstacle to a wider view has been created by the prevailing identification of adult education with the work of the Responsible Bodies – that it consists principally of 24-week or 3-year courses of meetings lasting 1½ or 2 hours each, involving discussions led by an expert tutor of university calibre, close study of written texts, and written work or its equivalent, by the students. Such adult education can undoubtedly be made meaning-

ful to hitherto unreached sections of the people but it is evident that it can never appeal to more than a specially apt minority of the population. A proportion of two per cent is sometimes suggested. The false equation of adult education with Responsible Body work leads inevitably to the conclusion, however disguised, that a very large percentage of the adult population is ineducable, whatever the 1919 Report may say.

The full development of adult education and its usefulness in an 'ageing' population demands the abandonment of many pre-conceptions, including an undue preoccupation with so-called university standards. This is not to say that standards are not important. Organizers are always right to ask themselves: Are we doing as well as we might in this situation and with these people? There must be standards, but they should be set by students' potentialities, not by some external measure. If standards are discussed as though all adult education were an overflow from the universities, it will be forgotten that all men have some excellence in them but that the means by which it can be developed must be varied and appropriate.

By not making rigid distinctions between work and play, utility and art, between idle chat about women and searching discussion about the ethics of marriage, between painting the house and painting a picture, Wincham Hall gave a liberal education to men who were, for the most part, totally unsuited to academic discipline. This report has shown that the few men and women in the less skilled jobs who participate at all in education, most commonly do so through the evening institute classes which make them more adept in the home and the garage. If Britain is to take the education of the vast majority of adults at least as seriously as it has taken adult education for an elite, it is this sector that particularly needs attention. Adult educationists should become aware (as some already are) that their programmes ought to be related to every aspect of life, not simply to the mediation of academic disciplines or of practical skills. The 'domesticated culture' described in Chapter 7 is as valid a starting point for educational growth as is academic curiosity. There is, in fact, no aspect of life too humble to constitute a starting point for growth which might turn neurasthenic and bored older men and women into self-determining people, hungry for time, not gnawed by it.

Companionship and stimulus are so important to the elderly

that it is to be hoped that educationists and social workers will be imaginative enough to consider what opportunities they should offer to those, many of them living alone, who cannot leave their homes. Traditionally the clientele for education goes to the places where it is available but there is a therapeutic case here for the arrangements to be reversed. An unexpected analogy suggests itself. Men on board ship are not cut off from company, but they are as effectively isolated from socially organized provision for education and recreation as the housebound elderly. The Seafarers' Education Service was instituted to overcome that isolation; the same spirit should animate our desire not to leave out the housebound. 'Meals on Wheels' needs its educational equivalent. The beginnings of such a service are to be seen in the delivery of books to the elderly by many Public Libraries and by the film shows arranged in the homes of the bedridden by Bristol Toc H.

Adult educationists cannot develop the potentialities which are present in family-centred, practical concerns, if they do not have suitable premises in which to work. This ultimately means that they are frustrated unless the Government, expressing its will through the Treasury, recognizes the importance of their work.

At present, out of a total education budget of about seven hundred million pounds, not more than four million is spent on adult education. It is not surprising, therefore, that most adult education is carried on in schools in the evenings, many of them inadequately equipped, and inevitably making their evening occupants aware that they are second-class tenants. It has been left mainly to the Educational Centres Association to keep alive the idea of special adult premises,⁴ but there are signs that the Association and the National Federation of Community Associations, which is also aware of the importance of premises, are no longer isolated witnesses.

A number of Local Authorities and universities (despite the official discouragement which has forced a standstill on adult education, especially in evening institutes), are building or adapting centres for adults. Cambridgeshire continues to build Village Colleges and the Cambridgeshire pattern is being implemented, with modifications, in Derbyshire, Leicestershire, Monmouthshire, Oxfordshire, and probably elsewhere. Essex and Bristol are among the authorities grant-aiding the building of voluntarily-managed community centres, thereby extending the opportunities for leader-

ship to a wider range of people. Leeds is only one of the universities which is converting or building new properties to accommodate its work in towns outside the university city itself.

The sceptic who doubts whether buildings for the purpose would do much to remedy the minority appeal of adult education, should note that many of the centres affiliated to the Educational Centres Association attract larger numbers than do equivalent programmes dispersed in schools, halls, cafés and homes; that whereas there was once no community centre at Lymington, it now houses a programme of almost unrivalled educational variety and quality, supported by over 1,000 members in a town with a population of 10,000; that before the war there were no short-term residential colleges so that their nearly 50,000 annual enrolments are a net increase. In spite of the difficulties under which it has worked in the post-war years, there are for example 33% more students in Workers' Educational Association classes than there were in 1939.

In Shepton Mallet, where a particularly active concern with the work has been manifested, there are forty-nine evening institute classes, with 632 students drawn from a population of 5,100 – that is, 14% of those aged between fifteen and sixty-five. In 1957 there were only a few more students than that in the whole of St Helens – 692 in a population of 110,000. St Helens has only three evening institutes. The conclusion is inescapable: wherever provision is made, it is taken up; the more provision is made, the more it is utilized; and the more appropriate the buildings in which it is made, the better its work is known and the more people take advantage of it.

For the purposes of organized adult education there is a clear need for centres designed for use by adults and preferably involving their users in management in the way already made familiar by centres affiliated to the Educational Centres Association. These we need in many towns and neighbourhoods.

Buildings are important but they are useless without educationists to work in them. The staffing of adult education in this country is exemplified by the numbers of full-time personnel working in evening institutes. There were only (1958) 122 full-time principals, vice-principals and heads of department; only 21 lecturers and assistants. The last available estimate for part-time teachers is 41,622.⁵ Obviously adult education must draw many, perhaps most, of its instructors and tutors from other occupations

but it is ludicrous that the sector of it which embraces the largest number of people should be administered so largely by men and women who can give only marginal attention to it. The recruitment and training of a profession is an urgent necessity. There are too many able and admirable people moving into and then out of adult education because it is not a career, except for a few in the universities and a handful in the Workers' Educational Association. Most Local Education Authorities would be justified in appointing a Senior Assistant for Adult Education, with the full-time job of stimulating both provided and voluntarily organized work.

How much would a more adequate and embracing policy for adult education cost? The Secretary of the National Institute of Adult Education has estimated that the charge on public funds in 1956-57 was approximately £3,500,000. He has written: 'If allowance is made for expenditure on Community Centres, and for rising costs since 1957, £4,250,000 would be an outside figure for current expenditure from public funds, with additionally perhaps half as much coming from private pockets in many different ways. Without going into details, it can safely be said that a 50% increase – say £2,000,000 per annum – would allow for almost a revolution in the two key matters of adequate accommodation and trained staff. It is important that these figures should be seen in their true context, as scarcely affecting tax and rate levies. Even a much larger increase over a period of years would be unlikely to outstrip proportionally the expected increase in national productivity'.⁶

Until professional attitudes and methods are more flexible and until basic needs for accommodation, staffing (and, therefore, finances) are recognized, and in some degree met, it is impertinent to speak of the ineducability of most men and women. It is a projection on to them of social limitations, especially inadequacies in provision, for which all adults, and in particular those responsible for leading opinion and evolving public policy, are to blame.

EDUCATIVE SOCIETIES AND OCCUPATIONAL CENTRES

It is intrinsic to the purpose and success of educative societies that they arise spontaneously and are run voluntarily. Yet there is evidence in this report that it would be wrong to assume that they

represent all that people want. A large minority of societies are in some degree of financial difficulty, a majority are not housed as well as they would like to be. The apparent lack of balance between the number of 'technical' societies and others which can make do more easily with halls could only be verified by more local surveys. But it seems very probable that accommodation difficulties cannot be remedied adequately without assistance from local authorities. For all these reasons, it is relevant to make suggestions for social policy even in this sphere, assuming that it should be a community responsibility to ensure that the spontaneous growth of educative societies is encouraged, not stultified.

The Oxfordshire County Council provides a recent example of how to help the work of educative societies without impairing their autonomy. The authority wishes to encourage activities of all kinds but accepts that the role of government in this sphere is to enable people to organize for themselves; that its responsibility is to provide voluntary organizations with accommodation, enough money to release private resources on a sufficient scale, and the minimum of interference from above. It makes outright and deficiency grants to voluntary organizations, negotiating them with a representative committee. This is still a new policy linked with the provision of an adult wing in a new school, but the 'evening institute' activity (new style) in Sonning Common (near Reading) has increased five-fold in a year, and involves nearly 500 adults in a population of under 5,000.

A different kind of contribution is made – not uniquely – in Bolton. Doubtless many premises are as makeshift there as anywhere else, but the Borough provides, in its Central Library, large and small lecture halls, and a range of smaller rooms, equipped with grand pianos, record players, film projectors, etc. It houses up to 250 meetings a year, organized by the Field Naturalists, Workers' Educational Association, Gramophone Society, Anglo-German Circle, Northern Artists and others. 'But', says Mr Ruddock, 'only a favoured few can be accommodated on a regular weekly basis'.

Meanwhile, adult classes in social studies might usefully undertake surveys of the kind which led to Oxfordshire's innovation, to discover to what extent the needs of educative societies are being met outside the official orbit, and to what extent a similar policy could be usefully employed in their own locality.

The experience of many of the centres attached to the Educational Centres Association and to the National Federation of Community Associations shows that there is a fruitful alternative to haphazard spontaneity and to provision laid on from above.

When, as at Letchworth, a centre accommodates educative societies as well as classes and courses, the warden develops the capacity for sensing different needs. He is able to bring potential leaders together; to encourage them in the early stages and to put the publicity resources of the whole organization at their disposal; such a new venture stands a better chance of survival when the promoters can draw on the experience of the warden without submitting to his authority.

Most existing centres are limited, however, by not being built for the purpose. Specially designed 'occupational' centres, or occupational wings to community and educational centres are needed to supplement evening institute classes in technical skills and crafts (pottery, metalwork, weaving, silver-smithing, woodwork, and others appear regularly in programmes). Students in some of these classes may be able to exercise their aptitude over the years in their own homes. The power hand-drill is now a common article of domestic equipment, and there is widespread commercial encouragement for people to convert rooms and cellars into workshops. But not everyone can afford equipment: there are cottages in Bassingbourn, thousands of houses in Fishponds (Bristol), and street after street of them in Bolton and Rochdale, where there would be no room for a workshop. Consequently, students who want to persist are often obliged to carry on *as students* formally enrolled in classes and taking a chance on how accessible the equipment may be, how many others there are to share the potter's wheel.

In short, adult education is equipping some of the people who are reached by it, with skills for which they may have no long-term outlet. A proper complement to current practice would be the provision of art and technical centres where adults, meeting either in groups or as individuals, could have access to workshop facilities outside the confines of a formal curriculum. Without this the lamentations about passivity and the abuse of leisure coming mostly from the more fortunately placed must smack of hypocrisy.

If such centres were available during the day as well as in the evening, they would also go some way towards enriching the lives

of the retired and the elderly. Men who miss the craft-satisfaction and the companionship of their work would still be able to find these rewards in retirement. (Anyone who suffers from ratepayer's reflexes about spending public money on people's hobbies should consider the cost of rehabilitating the mentally ill.) An authority that built a police station before thinking about a community centre took a salvage operator's view of human potentialities to its extreme. The constructive example of Glasgow has already been quoted, and it is important to stress that such an approach is not alien to official thinking. The Ministry of Education pamphlet on *Evening Institutes* expects 'the conception of the handicraft class as a community workshop to gain increasing acceptance' and speaks of 'possibilities in model-making of all kinds; in household renovations and repairs; in toys, in games; and in many other practical activities'. In such a workshop, 'an important part of the equipment... would be a good supply of practical books, from which new ideas, as well as clear instructions, could be obtained'. The pamphlet regrets that 'at present there is no alternative' to 'the school woodwork and metalwork shops (which) are not entirely suitable for community workshops' and concludes by hoping that 'one day' community and youth centres will provide suitable facilities. A little more from the Ministry than hope would bring that unspecified date nearer.⁸

This report has shown that educative societies are largely joined by people who have stimulated in some way through adult education. This overlap points to the desirability of reflecting it in terms of accommodation, staff and subsidy. Centres with many-sided programmes can encourage still further the flow from practical activities, to more abstract, verbal ones, and from ideas to action, both in adult education and in the wider orbit which includes educative societies. The regulations which, for example, separate the study of music from making it, are gradually being circumvented, and subjects like archaeology are exercising a healthily destructive influence on the gulf between study and action. Although Community Associations in the survey areas did not fall within the scope of this report, there are many such associations, catering for less skilled workers, which blend educational and educative activities in a programme catering mainly for recreational and social interests from six-a-side football and whist to chiropody for pensioners. It is a blend difficult to achieve, but at

their best these Associations show that it is possible. Some of our traditions in adult education make it more unnatural than it should be.

DIRECT PREPARATION FOR RETIREMENT

A few firms, a few residential colleges and one or two other agencies are experimenting with courses of preparation for retirement. Despite the unfamiliarity of the concept, they are confident that it is sound, but there is much to learn about the way to interpret it, and how to popularize it. Managements and Unions, co-operating perhaps with the short-term residential colleges, are likely sources to which to look for initiatives. The growth of industrial pension schemes is already enabling many firms to maintain contact with their ex-employees; it also provides a natural opportunity for raising the issue of preparation for retirement, that might otherwise be difficult to broach.

Whoever may be the organizers of pre-retirement education they will have to find answers to important questions: How should programmes be planned and where can advice be sought? How shall they recruit those whose need is greatest? How shall they handle the religious aspect?

PROGRAMME PLANNING

Programme planning is best conceived as a co-operative enterprise so that experts on budgeting, family relations, health, leisure interests and so on can all be approached. Planning committees should probably represent management, labour, Old People's Welfare, and appropriate agencies of adult education. Such committees would give ex-employees a socially useful role if some of them were co-opted. It would be advantageous at this stage for the Preparation for Retirement Sub-Committee of the National Old Peoples' Welfare Committee in London to act as an advisory centre, and it might ultimately be worth while to have special committees set up by the local councils of social service to co-ordinate the efforts that could otherwise be fragmentary. Such committees would not only encourage Old People's Welfare Com-

mittees to run Meals on Wheels for the housebound, they could also, for example, enable older members of the community to help with the local youth clubs, and they could alert the evening institute to the interests of the elderly. A council of social service committee is probably a better device for the purpose than a Council of Ageing on the American model. It would be conscious that service to the elderly is of the same importance as are service to youth and adult education, and, if it worked closely with a Local Education Authority, it would foster the notion that retirement is a time for creation and recreation, not a time for dependence on philanthropy.

REACHING THOSE WHOSE NEED IS GREATEST

Industries and unions have a natural contact with potential 'students' in pre-retirement education; adult education agencies who take the initiative may have greater difficulty in reaching those whose need for guidance is most acute. The courses held at Urchfont Manor (Wiltshire) and at Henley-on-Thames in 1958 were remarkable for the extent to which nearly everyone present was already well endowed with interests and some details about them may evoke the atmosphere of such courses. A 65-year-old man on one of the courses seemed at first to be among those most in need. Soon after his arrival he said that he was not long retired and had come 'hoping to find the answers'. But it turned out that he does heavy gardening when it is fine, and in bad weather he paints pictures (a new interest), makes his own picture frames and plays his guitar. At other times he does hospital visiting (only since retirement has he discovered the extent to which some people are totally deprived), goes bird watching by a reservoir, breeds shubunkins, and takes himself off on his motor-cycle. He pounded with energy and sparkled with intellectual curiosity. He thought that younger people would adapt better to ageing than his generation. 'Mine was the generation that was distracted by the combustion engine. Many of the present generation take cars for granted. They don't want to sit on their bottoms in them - they want to be active!'

There were others equally capable of employing themselves: a retired geologist, a doctor of science now turned professional

writer on physical research; a former research scientist and his ex-nurse wife, who, wherever they go, make themselves part of the local community by doing things for it (she is a voluntary hospital worker and a Red Cross helper) and by seeking out people with similar interests through WEA classes; a retired Inspector of Schools who works for numerous committees; and a widow who goes every day to help her local Eventide Club.

On another course, a Glasgow bus driver and an insurance company manager, though they were not yet retired, justifiably looked forward to it with equanimity. The manager was always busy – as Chairman of a Little Theatre, chairman of a charitable association and treasurer of an international organization. ‘I’ve never had enough time’, he said, ‘to do all I want’. The one ‘real gap’ that he regretted was work with his hands. This omission did not trouble the bus driver: there was poetry and pride in his voice as he talked about gardening. Cultivating his garden turns him into a builder, joiner, glazier and plasterer in making hothouses. He had two allotments and a hut. ‘I have my lunch up there and really enjoy life. My wife tells me to take my bed to the garden’. Gardening, for him, was a way of life involving intelligence and muscle alike. There was also a vivid reminder, from a confectioner, that there is not necessarily a stark distinction between the satisfactions of leisure and those of work. When he retired he wanted to model in sugar.

There were others for whom such a course met a deeper need. A woman who, although she was a member of two women’s organizations, was wrestling with the loneliness of bereavement, said one morning at breakfast that the course was ‘more stimulating to the mind than restful to the body. I couldn’t sleep at night but I didn’t mind because I wasn’t thinking of my own bothers’. Others were in a sense representatives of Old People’s clubs. Two housewives, for instance, had been picked by the organizer of their Club to see what the course was all about. They came, it is important to notice, with considerable misgivings. One of them confessed: ‘I’m a widow and I haven’t had a great deal of education’. She had resisted coming, and would not have done so had her organizer not persuaded her. A housewife and a retired rubber worker were, similarly, the only two out of two-hundred members of their club to volunteer for the course. The housewife said: ‘We’ve heard of this place but we thought it was some kind of

school for young people'. These four people could give their 700 fellow club members a more accurate picture of such a course, which should make future promotion progressively easier.

But it is essential to be aware of the fears and misconceptions that prevent people from attending. Apprehensions of this kind probably explain why so few of the participants were members of Old People's Clubs, though the publicity had been directed to clubs in the first place and it was hoped that response from them would be sufficient to fill the course. Only seven participants were, in fact, club members and only four had heard of the course through being members of clubs. The rest had heard of it through radio and television announcements (seventeen), newspaper advertisements (three) personal recommendation (three), and leaflet publicity (two).

The fear of not being clever enough probably deterred many people, but one of the participants provided a further clue. She had almost refrained from coming because she thought it might be cold and draughty. This is not an unreasonable fear to entertain of what was in this case, a seventeenth-century manor house. Future publicity should stress the exceptional warmth and comfort of these centres, together with the excellence and generosity of the cuisine.

To judge from these two experiences, the short residential course is an excellent stimulant, capable in the right hands of bridging social and educational differences. It is more likely to succeed the more clearly defined the purposes of the course and the target audience for it may be. At this stage, however, it seems most likely to attract those whose need is relatively slight though these could educate others by their example. Those who have attended might be encouraged to return, bringing with them a few of the more diffident members of their Old People's Clubs, trade unions, or other associations. People fear most the strangeness and the possibility of being exposed as more ignorant than others. The way could be made easier for them by enthusiasts like the ex-geologist who said: 'The idea that we all gathered here under the Education Act is absolutely legitimate - we're all learning a great deal. We shall be missionaries for these inspiring ventures'. Similarly the presence in old people's clubs of members with experience of such a course could make the clubs themselves more enterprising.

PROBLEMS OF SPIRITUAL PREPARATION

The third problem is that of religion and ageing. It is best discussed perhaps by considering a particular case. At the end of one residential course on retirement, many of the participants asked whether subsequent courses could not pay more attention to what they called 'the spiritual side'. This may confront organizers with a dilemma, for it is important to reconcile their duty to respond to the wishes of students, with an obligation to remain non-sectarian. It is to be hoped that the churches will see in adjustment to ageing an essential part of their pastoral mission. But it is important in any case to deal with the metaphysical questions that often seem urgent to older people. The churches and other religious organizations should cater for those who are convinced believers or deliberate seekers. It should be the function of adult education to help those who are confused by presenting to them ideas in a form which will help them clarify their own. Adult education could also act as a forum for the tolerant exchange of opinions on this as on all other matters. What it should never do, is to offer a platform for views in such a way that the students are assumed to agree with them because their truth is supposed to be self-evident.

While neutrality implies that it would be undesirable to open a course with a religious ceremony, it does not mean avoiding discussion about religious teaching on old age. It is impertinent and educationally stultifying if a speaker addresses a group recruited from the public at large, or from a working force not employed for their spiritual affiliations, as though they were all redeemed by the same faith as himself. But it is educationally stimulating when a man speaks from a viewpoint to which he is committed without assuming that everyone agrees with him. This was well illustrated by a course that pivoted on a talk by a Roman Catholic geriatrician, Dr T. N. Rudd. He deliberately associated mental health with bodily vigour, and it is profitable to consider here the implications of some of the points he made. He said that medical science now went further than the classical ideal of having a healthy body, as though these were separable. Today mind and body are seen to be more intimately related. The body is unlikely to be healthy unless the mind is healthy. Attention needs to be paid increasingly to mental health; and people are more likely to

be mentally healthy in old age if they know what ageing involves. 'Middle-aged people often lose their way largely because of a modern heresy – that education ends at fifteen and is primarily a preparation for industrial life and that life is for earning money'. In late middle-age many people resist the approach of old age because they fear the disappearance of life's purpose before life itself. Dr Rudd called this 'the poisonous thought leading to distress'. It is noteworthy that he, like other geriatricians, was led from the medicine of old age to a criticism of some of our prevailing moral attitudes.

Old age, Dr Rudd stressed, is normal. It is as essential to a complete life as are childhood, adolescence and maturity. Old age is a time for renouncing power and possessions. As each stage of life is a preparation for the next and as neurosis is caused by a psychological evasion of the passing of adolescence or maturity, so old age is a preparation for the next step, the after life. He quoted Simone Weil – 'old age is for the making of the soul'.

Dr Rudd's view seemed to hearten the course members. But not all Christians would agree with it and it could be disturbing to an ageing agnostic. Nor would his attitude to suffering comfort the disbeliever :

If death is to be followed by nothingness, their sufferings, which are often experienced in isolation, and which can have little if any social significance, are entirely pointless and are inconsistent with the idea of a loving God. Their belief in the after-life gives significance to their closing years and provides an explanation of their sufferings acceptable to many.⁹

But not to all. It remains educationally of great value for men and women to decide their attitude towards these questions, to hear them commented on by humanists or by the exponents of various religious views. For humanists, old age is not for the 'making of the soul'. It is rather a time when the soul can come into its own. Though the humanist has to have the stoicism to acknowledge that suffering may indeed be pointless, he can surely accept Dr Rudd's rejection of the cash and productivity obsessions of an acquisitive society. He would also agree that we should all adjust ourselves to the transitions from one phase of life to another, that we should 'act our age'. Old people are strategically placed to teach younger people how to live without being driven by ulterior

motives ; pre-eminently they can show that life is worth living for its own sake and that the present should not always be mortgaged to the future.

It is, then, a function of adult education to promote a tolerant reflection on these fundamentals. It is not its function to further any one view of them however undenominational.

IN COMMUNICATION WITH EVERYONE

The report has noted, then, that both adult education and 'educative societies' are effective instruments for self-development ; they enlarge the area of choice and so of freedom, for many men and women. We have some evidence that they can help to transform later maturity into a period as positive and creative as any other. Leisure in old age may call for the use of faculties that have lost their plasticity ; it should be seen as an extension of a leisure well employed throughout life. It is difficult though not impossible, to turn to new interests after many years of absorption with career and family. This rests on a view of life's purpose which sets work in its proper place. The adaptation is far more than a process of finding ways of filling time. But the use of adult education and of 'educative societies', which may help in this search for purpose and fulfilment, is at present relatively widespread only among those who had considerable formal education and those with a background of responsibility at work. Most people live in a culture that is composed mainly of work, family life and the domesticated leisure that may prove inadequate when work ceases.

It is recommended that adult education be transformed from a minority service into an adjunct of the popular culture by enlarging the range of its techniques, by operating in appropriate settings and by basing itself on a variety of interests and needs. The educative societies should be encouraged to develop by improving their accommodation without usurping their management. The work of adult education and of the societies could often be integrated in occupational centres to be used by individuals as well as groups, and especially to be used by retired men at off-peak times of the day. A variety of agencies should imitate and improve on the pre-retirement and in-retirement courses that so far have been tried on only a limited scale. Local councils of

social service could co-ordinate all aspects of old people's welfare so that ultimately the very phrase 'old people's welfare' might seem an outdated misnomer.

In a complex and densely populated country like Britain the communication between the authorities or educational agencies and the people is still poor. Our vision is incomplete without the participation of the mass media, especially of broadcasting. Television and radio (with support from the press), are the most appropriate instruments for bringing the idea of education for leisure and retirement to public notice. Adult education and educative societies necessarily work with small groups and in doing so they are discharging an essential function. But they do not reach everybody. Radio and television communicate with the greater part of the population. They are not, as yet, doing much to inform their public what opportunities lie before them. *Indian Summer* is of considerable importance. A short weekly programme on sound, it provides 'advice and entertainment for retired people and older people generally'. It was started in 1954 and its original concern with health education has been broadened to include constructive leisure activities. The producer is conscious that 'to have in common being old, is probably to have very little'; and it is certainly difficult to please everyone.¹⁰ But this programme is only a beginning. The broadcasting authorities, like educationists, need to be more conscious than they are of the changing age structure of the country.

Meanwhile, in this, as in other spheres, co-operation between adult educationists and broadcasting authorities can accomplish much. At their best, both groups are engaged in the same task – the destruction of monopolies in knowledge and the enlargement of the range of choices open to men and women. Their roles are complementary: adult educationists cannot speak to everybody; the broadcaster cannot speak to anyone as effectively as the man who addresses him face to face. As allies they can help to achieve a common culture, from which none are excluded because they were educated too poorly, or are too lowly, or above all were born too long ago.

APPENDIX

Supplementary Notes, References and Statistics

CHAPTER 1

1. Peter Townsend, *The Family Life of Old People*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1957, p.139.
2. Ibid., p.145.
3. Ibid., pp.146-7.
4. Clark Tibbits and Henry Sheldon, Introduction to *Social Contribution by the Aging*, Annals of the American Academy, January 1952, p.9.
5. One or two British adult educationists have already given consideration to this, however, notably Professor Robert Peers in *Adult Education*, Autumn 1952, p.87, and Roy Wilkie, *Highway*, January 1958, p.73; and a number of geriatricians have seen the importance of purposeful leisure from the point of view of social medicine and mental health.
6. Professor Houle's gloss on extracts from *De Senectute*, *Adult Leadership*, Chicago 1958, reprinted in *Adult Education*, Spring 1959, p.259.
7. Paraphrased from his summing-up at a course on *Adjustment to Ageing*, held at the Administrative Staff Training College, 29 August-1 September, 1958.
8. See also, *Human Development and Education*, Robert J. Havighurst, Longmans, Green & Co., New York, 1953.

CHAPTER 2

1. Data on comparative demography can be found, e.g. in J. D. Durand, *Old Age in the Modern World*, Livingston, 1955, pp.33-34.
2. These changes are discussed more fully in, e.g. B. Benjamin, 'Demographic Aspects of Ageing' in *The Biology of Ageing*, Institute of Biology, 1957. B. Shenfield, *Social Policies for Old Age*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1957. *Report of the Committee on the Economic and Financial Problems of the Provision for Old Age* (The Phillips Report), Cmd. 9333, HMSO, 1954.
3. Source : *The Phillips Report*, p.16. See note (2) above.
4. Source : W. A. Sanderson, 'Preparation for Retirement' in *The Care of the Elderly*, National Old People's Welfare Council, 1958.

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5. Source : *The Phillips Report*, p.24.
6. *Studies in Official Statistics No. 4 : The Length of Working Life of Males in Great Britain*, HMSO, 1959.
7. For proportions of prematurely retired men in different occupations, see F. Le Gros Clark, 'Working Life as a Measure of Ageing' in *The Biology of Ageing*, Institute of Biology, 1957. F. Le Gros Clark, *Age and the Working Lives of Men*, Nuffield Foundation, 1959.
8. See Chapter 10.
9. Robert Bendiner, 'Could you stand a four-day week?' in *The Reporter*, New York, 8.10.57.
10. *Statistical Review of England and Wales for the year 1957* (Part II, Tables, Civil), HMSO, 1959.
11. W. A. Sanderson, 'The Changing Population Structure', *Adult Education*, Winter, 1959, p.137.
12. *Mental capacity of the elderly* (p.33). Underlying contemporary research is the pre-war work of Thorndike who wrote : 'Individual differences among those of the same age...enormously outweigh differences between ages'. Irving Lorge has summarized recent experimental findings by claiming that 'Whenever learning ability is measured in terms of power-ability, i.e. without stringent time limits, the evidence is clear that the learning ability does not change significantly from age twenty to sixty years...An individual at sixty can learn the same kinds of knowledge, skill and application that he could at twenty years of age...His performance may be reduced because of shifts in his motivation, speed, self-concept, or sensory acuities...Adults learn much less than they might partly because of the underestimations of their power and wisdom, and partly because of their own anxieties that their learning behaviour will bring unfavourable criticism'. This is not to deny that in many respects ageing unquestionably means a process of failing potentialities, but the fact of decline is only part of the truth. The older worker will be slower, and he may need stronger stimuli to his senses, but he is also likely to be more accurate and more conscientious and therefore even faster in the long run than the younger, more slapdash man with energy he can afford to waste. The view of Dr Alastair Heron is important in its applications for educationists : we must, he contends, 'regard man as more than an input-output system...so far as the creative intellectual fields of endeavour are concerned, both quality and quantity of output reach their peak early in life - in almost all fields before the age of forty. But... "as a result of positive transfer the old usually possess greater wisdom and erudition".' Edward L. Thorndike, *Adult Learning*, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1928. Irving Lorge, 'Capacities of Older Adults' in *Education for Later Maturity*, Wm. Morrow, New York, 1955. Alastair Heron in *The Biology of Ageing*, Institute of Biology, 1957.
13. By Research Services Ltd.
14. J. H. Sheldon, *The Social Medicine of Old Age*, Oxford University Press for The Nuffield Foundation, 1948, p.23.

Chapter 2 Contd.

15. S. M. Lempert, *Survey of the Aged in Stockport*, County Borough of Stockport, 1958, p.29.

CHAPTER 3

1. *After Work : Leisure and Learning in Two Towns*, Manchester and District Advisory Council for Further Education and the National Institute of Adult Education, 1959.
2. The Hendon survey was conducted in co-operation with Mr R. Lees, working for a postgraduate qualification in Education.
3. *Special features of provision for adult education in the survey areas* (p.38). The Local Education Authority classes whose clientele was examined were run by Bristol Education Committee, in two of the six Evening Institutes in different parts of the city through which the committee mainly works ; by Hendon Education Committee, which organizes most of its non-vocational classes through the Liberal Studies Department of Hendon Technical College and eight Evening Institutes ; by Hertfordshire County Council, which provides classes in Letchworth at the North Herts Technical College and through the North Herts College of Further Education ; and by Cambridgeshire County Council which is responsible for most of the classes at Bassingbourn Village College. The types of adult education which exist in the survey areas will be recognized as representative of what may be found in most centres of population in England and Wales, although it must be acknowledged that Bassingbourn is much better endowed than most rural districts. Adult education there is almost co-terminous with the Village College, but in the catchment area there are a number of Workers' Educational Association branches and Women's Institutes. The Village College comprises a school and an adult wing, in a building designed to be suitable for all its users. It has a canteen and a common room ; it accommodates the local branch of the County Library, sessions of various welfare services and meetings of voluntary organizations. The other three areas happen also to be more fortunate than most in that they possess non-residential centres to accommodate courses and classes provided by the agencies described so far. Two of these centres were included in the survey. They are the Folk House, Bristol, and the Adult Education Settlement in Letchworth. Both are affiliated to the Educational Centres Association, but the Settlement, while carrying a much smaller liberal studies programme than the Folk House, is also a major centre for much of the town's social life. Nine of the 34 Letchworth societies under review in the next chapter are constituent members of it, including six of the fourteen art groups, and it runs other activities - record-playing, play-reading, and film-making, for example - which were not stable or formally constituted enough to be included in the survey. Both the Folk House and the Settlement employ professional wardens, but both are managed and controlled

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by democratically elected representatives of students and members. They are both communities engaged in various forms of educational work rather than buildings housing a collection of courses and classes.

In Bristol, the students' questionnaires were completed at two Evening Institutes located in contrasting areas – the West Bristol Institute, serving a well-matured, relatively prosperous residential area and a post-war housing estate, and the East Bristol Institute, which operates in a working-class suburb. It should be explained that an 'Evening Institute' is not usually a building. It is a programme of classes normally housed in school buildings. Thus the East Bristol Institute comprises ten different centres, and the West Bristol one uses some twenty different schools, clubs, and halls for its work.

CHAPTER 4

1. The Derby Survey found that 'almost a fifth of the total of club membership (of all kinds) is accounted for by only a sixteenth of the people who belong to clubs'. T. Cauter and J. S. Downham, *The Communication of Ideas*, Chatto and Windus for the Readers' Digest Association, 1954, p.66.

CHAPTER 5

1. *After Work*, p.13, 57ff.
2. *Education in 1958*, Cmd. 777, HMSO, 1959.
3. Classification of Occupations. Details of the scale employed by the BBC Audience Research Dept. and adopted for the purposes of this enquiry appear on p.149.
4. Other studies have shown the significance of education as a causal factor, e.g. J. Trenaman's thesis (see note 5 below) on its influence on further education, and D. Glass, *Studies in Social Mobility*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1954, on its effect on occupational opportunity.
5. J. Trenaman, *Education in the Adult Population*, Part I, Chapter VII (Unpublished thesis, Oxford, 1957).

CHAPTER 6

1. *Examples of courses and classes as analysed under six headings* (p.59).
 1. *Courses in liberal studies*. Those at the Folk House, for instance, were sponsored by Bristol University and Bristol Workers' Educational Association, and included three-year courses on the British Commonwealth, the New Testament, Traditions and New trends in Painting, Sociology, Beethoven's Chamber Music; among the one-year courses were those on English Poetry in the Twentieth

Chapter 6 Contd.

Century, the Concerto and the Listener, the Architecture of Bristol, British Industry, Child Psychology and Chekhov. At Basingbourn Village College, the Tutor, David Holbrook, completed the third year of a joint WEA - Cambridge University tutorial on Literature and Morality, and there was also a one-year course on Change in the Village.

2. *Classes in the Arts*, in which were included drama, elocution and public speaking, music, choral singing, painting, pottery, and italic handwriting, nearly all to be found in the Evening Institutes of the three larger areas and many of them at the Village College.
 3. *Domestic Crafts*, including dressmaking, tailoring, cookery, home furnishing, home improvements, upholstery and handicrafts such as embroidery, weaving and flower arrangement.
 4. *Hobbies*. This category comprises classes in car driving and maintenance, woodwork, metalwork, gardening, radio and television servicing and photography.
 5. *Languages* - mainly French, German, Spanish and Italian.
 6. *Physical activities*, both artistic and gymnastic, exemplified by Keep Fit, judo, swimming, and dancing of all kinds.
2. *Movement between classes on Practical Subjects - Hendon and Bristol* (p.61). The following table charts the movements (in numbers not in percentages) of men and women among the different categories of Local Education Authority classes. A 'commitment' is to a group of subjects; it may therefore represent more than one enrolment in more than one subject.

TABLE 31
Past Adult Education Experience of Students at present in
Local Education Authority Classes

A. Men						
Category of Classes	Present commitments					Past Totals
	Art	Dom.	Hob.	Lang.	Phys.	
Art	33	2	9	3	1	48
Domestic	2	1	5	1	1	10
Hobbies	8	5	26	9	8	56
Languages	16	1	12	11	5	45
Physical	12	2	14	6	8	42
<i>Present Total</i>	71	11	66	30	23	
B. Women						
Category of Classes	Present commitments					Past Totals
	Art	Dom.	Hob.	Lang.	Phys.	
Art	42	30	16	21	20	129
Domestic	52	99	20	25	44	240
Hobbies	20	18	15	10	17	80
Languages	31	25	14	20	21	111
Physical	51	49	17	21	39	177
<i>Present Total</i>	196	221	82	97	143	

The table can be read horizontally to discover the present commitments of students with past experience in the five categories, or

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vertically to discover from which categories of class students have moved to reach their present group. In either direction one figure shows the number of students who have persisted in the same category (though they may also have moved in and out of others).

3. *Movement between 'Liberal Studies' and 'Practical' Classes* (p.62).

TABLE 32

Percentages of Men and Women with Present and Past Membership of Liberal Studies Classes who have Present or Past Experience of Practical Classes

	Men		Women	
	At Present	In the Past	At Present	In the Past
(i) Numbers in Liberal Studies Classes :	40	61	69	140
(ii) Percentages of the above with Present or Past Experience of Classes :				
	Present	Past	Present	Past
	%	%	%	%
Art	18	25	20	32
Dom.	—	5	15	27
Hob.	15	20	9	16
Lang.	10	20	5	24
Phys.	5	28	6	37

4. *Residential Short Courses* (p.64). Just as occupation affects choice of subject, so does it affect experience of a form of adult education with special virtues of its own – the week-end or summer school, particularly when conducted in a residential setting. The main disadvantage of a normal course or class is that the students attend it after their day's work is over, and in many cases, the tutor will be a part-timer who has also worked during the day. Each week both parties have to shake off the distractions of their homes, factories and offices, and generate the necessary momentum to get the most out of their meeting. A week-end school, comprising three, four or five sessions, may often be of greater value, than say, ten weekly ones, because the experience is more concentrated and the students and tutors are tuned in and toned up to an extent which is not normally possible in week-to-week meetings. This intensity is increased when the school, lasting a weekend or a week, is residential. The comfort of a fine house, removed from the everyday environment, encouraging informality and friendship among the participants, can lift their studies, through an atmosphere of eagerness and concentration, to a pitch of excitement which can transform people's lives. Even when it does not do that, it usually achieves an exceptional fusion of education and pleasure. It is not surprising that the *Calendar of Residential Short Courses*, which the National Institute of Adult Education publishes twice a year, is relatively a best seller. The organizers include a wide range of bodies (The Central Council for Health Education, The Rural Music Schools, the Central Council for Physical Recreation, and so on – some sixty or more in addition to the recognized agencies of adult education), operating in boarding schools, training colleges, Field Study Centres and other suitable (or unsuitable) premises as well as the twenty-odd colleges established

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after the war as permanent residential centres. It is possible that the students are drawn from a wider range than is otherwise customary – firms send apprentices, foremen and executives, for instance, and the themes of courses range from the expected to the improbable. The Calendar for Summer 1959 advertised short courses on Highland Ornithology, Christian Education in School, Recorder Playing, Public Speaking, Short Story Writing, The Normans in England, Mining Industry, Opportunities in Retirement, Civil Aviation, Mountain Activities for Teachers, Horsemanship, Foremanship, Snails, and a Non-Smoking Weekend. Even so, to anticipate a later chapter, experience of education in this usually pleasurable and strenuous form is very rare in the population at large. It is apparently one of the virtues of the recognized agencies of adult education that they encourage a substantial part of their clientele to take advantage of it, as appears from the following table :

TABLE 33
Participation in Weekend and Summer Schools by Occupational Groups
(Bristol and Hendon)

Occupational Groups	Men			Women		
	% of :	Residential	Non-Res.	% of :	Residential	Non-Res.
		%	%		%	%
1. Higher Professional	52	29	8	82	35	13
2. Lower Professional	77	19	4	144	38	6
3. Highly Skilled	89	15	2	158	21	3
4. Skilled	66	15	6	143	16	3
5. Moderately Skilled	32	13	6	46	15	—
6 and 7. Semi and Unskilled	17	12	6	22	18	—

5. Movement between Classes and Societies (p.64).

TABLE 34
Past Enrolments in Various Types of Classes of People in Sample (Bristol and Hendon)
who are currently (a) Class Students Only ; (b) Society Members Only ; (c) Both

Types of Classes	Men			Women		
	Students Only	Members Only	Both	Students Only	Members Only	Both
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Liberal	8	18	20	11	27	30
Arts	6	22	24	14	49	31
Domestic	4	2	5	43	34	44
Hobbies	16	33	25	10	12	16
Languages	12	18	18	12	13	27
Physical	10	20	19	29	35	37
No. in Sample	50	99	195	194	112	306

CHAPTER 7

1. Lord Beveridge, *Voluntary Action*, Allen & Unwin, 1948.
2. *After Work*, p.51.

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3. J. Trenaman, *Education in the Adult Population* (Unpublished thesis, Oxford, 1957).
4. *Membership of Educative Societies among members of the representative sample interviewed* (p.76). The Bristol societies named include two of the fine art groups (the Savages and the Clifton Art Society), the Royal Empire Society, the Fishponds Choral Society, a rhythm club and Townswomen's Guilds. Of the Letchworth societies mentioned, three meet in other places - London, Hitchin and Stevenage. There are very few societies in Bassingbourn : the only two mentioned are the Women's Institute and the Mothers' Union. Educative societies do not seem greatly to extend beyond the ranks of those who are present or ex-evening class students. In Westbury - Bentry, for instance, seventeen men and eighteen women have had part-time non-vocational education ; of these seven (three men, four women) are also members of educative societies, and another seven (four men, three women) are in such societies only. In Fishponds only six men and twelve women record any experience of non-vocational education ; of these three are in educative societies, and only one man is a society member only.
5. This theme is developed further in Chapter 10.

CHAPTER 8

1. *Comparison of satisfactions claimed by class students and society members (Bristol and Hendon Samples)* (p.85). Differences in the attitudes of 'class students' and 'society members' appear more clearly from the following analysis of the satisfactions claimed by those who are (a) students only (b) members only (c) both.

TABLE 35
Comparison of Class and Society Satisfactions (Bristol and Hendon)

Satisfaction 'A Lot'	Men				Women			
	Classes		Societies		Classes		Societies	
	C	B	S	B	C	B	S	B
A. New Friends	8	16	26	35	24	23	38	36
B. Similar Interests	23	39	61	66	29	38	61	47
C. Subject	71	84	85	89	67	86	85	79
D. New Interest	52	49	29	32	63	61	37	46
E. Help in Work	12	13	7	11	15	16	13	5
F. Entertainment	27	27	42	53	24	32	46	43
G. Worthy Body	6	9	33	31	6	11	30	26
H. Service	19	15	26	31	10	14	28	21
I. Retirement	19	14	7	9	19	25	19	18
No. in Sample	48	164	94	99	190	265	100	168

C—Class Students Only ; S—Society Members Only ; B—Both

To find new friends and people with similar interest, both men and women are far more likely to join societies than to go to classes. New interests are developed in classes, and again it seems likely that these new interests are later followed up by joining the appropriate

TABLE 36
Influence of Age on Class and Society Satisfactions (Bristol and Hendon)

A. Men Satisfaction 'A Lot',	Age Groups of Class Students					Age Groups of Society Members				
	17-24	25-35	36-45	46-59	60+	17-24	25-35	36-45	46-59	60+
A. New Friends	15	17	11	11	38	33	40	16	26	41
B. Similar Interests	45	36	33	31	50	61	63	58	67	77
C. Subject	85	78	80	86	62	95	92	86	80	86
D. New Interest	48	54	51	46	38	11	37	35	31	14
E. Help in Work	15	17	11	9	—	5	2	23	10	5
F. Entertainment	24	32	24	29	26	61	57	35	39	45
G. Worthy Body	9	7	9	11	12	17	24	37	33	55
H. Service	15	15	11	29	12	17	18	30	39	50
I. Retirement	15	10	11	29	12	5	—	9	13	18
No. in Sample	33	69	55	35	8	18	62	43	39	22

B. Women Satisfaction 'A Lot'	Age Groups of Class Students					Age Groups of Society Members				
	17-24	25-35	36-45	46-59	60+	17-24	25-35	36-45	46-59	60+
A. New Friends	% 21	% 30	% 17	% 38	% 23	% 44	% 38	% 34	% 35	% 27
B. Similar Interests	% 31	% 33	% 32	% 41	% 46	% 58	% 45	% 44	% 58	% 64
C. Subject	% 76	% 86	% 77	% 75	% 59	% 86	% 86	% 80	% 74	% 77
D. New Interest	% 61	% 72	% 59	% 58	% 32	% 44	% 54	% 39	% 48	% 27
E. Help in Work	% 14	% 14	% 18	% 15	% 27	% 3	% 7	% 6	% 12	% 5
F. Entertainment	% 26	% 33	% 25	% 32	% 14	% 29	% 48	% 45	% 40	% 45
G. Worthy Body	% 6	% 9	% 7	% 11	% 18	% 28	% 12	% 17	% 42	% 41
H. Service	% 12	% 7	% 11	% 24	% 27	% 11	% 45	% 17	% 36	% 41
I. Retirement	% 15	% 19	% 20	% 38	% 40	% 6	% 14	% 14	% 26	% 32
No. in Sample	81	135	123	79	22	36	56	71	72	22

These tables cannot be precisely compared with the figures in Table 24 (p.84) because the latter was restricted to 'joiners', who might reasonably have been expected to answer the question. The percentages in the tables above are related to the total number of joiners in each age-group.

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society. Women find classes a help in their work and it is, of course, always difficult to decide whether cookery and dressmaking, for instance, should or should not be regarded as vocational subjects for housewives.

2. *The influence of age on the satisfactions claimed by Class Students and Society Members (Bristol and Hendon Samples)* (p.85). See Table 36 on the previous page.
3. *The Organization and Finance of Adult Education* (the Ashby Report), HMSO, 1954, p.34.
4. *Ibid*, p.34.
5. *Occupation in relation to participation and leadership in voluntary activities* (p.92). See Table 37 opposite.
6. For details of occupational grades see p.56 and Appendix p.149.

CHAPTER 9

1. 'In England and Wales two-thirds of all general and mental hospital beds occupied by those over 65 years are taken up by the single, widowed and divorced. The single (i.e. never married), who constitute 12.6% of the population of 65 years and over, contribute 55.4% of admissions to mental hospitals'. - *Mental Health Problems of Ageing and the Aged*, W.H.O., Geneva, 1959, p.6.
2. *Preparation for Retirement*, NOPWC, 1959.
3. *Older Students at Hillcroft College* (p.104). Some details of three women interviewed at Hillcroft may help to relate the main theme to the fortunes of specific individuals. Miss A was a cook-house-keeper who had brought up her nephew. She was recruited for the National Adult School Movement some three years ago by a fellow-member of her church. Now she was President of her School, regularly conducted each lesson and so had considerable experience of using the NASU Study Guide, hunting up the bibliographical references ('so that I already knew about not having to read a book right through') and organizing her thoughts into a publicly presentable form. About eighteen months ago, a friend who was at Hillcroft in the early 1930's had urged her to study there for a year and the NASU had encouraged her to do so, partly in the hope that she might become a voluntary extension worker for the Union.

Mrs B once had a job in publicity but spent her married years living a full social life in a country village. Doing voluntary work is 'part of what living in the country means' and she had for many years acted as Secretary of the local WEA branch; as one of her secretarial duties she had frequently drawn Hillcroft's amenities to her members' attention, though she had never found anyone in a position to cut away for a year, nor had she ever imagined the opportunity being hers. She decided after her divorce to think

TABLE 37

Percentages in Different Occupational Groups participating (P) and acting as Leaders (L)
in Various Types of Community Activities (Bristol and Hendon)

A. Men	Activity	1. Higher Professional		2. Lower Professional		3. Highly Skilled		4. Skilled		5. Moderately Skilled		6. 7. Semi and Unskilled	
		P	L	P	L	P	L	P	L	P	L	P	L
	Religious	46	25	53	21	46	18	55	15	25	12	53	18
	Vocational	81	40	68	22	65	20	42	14	59	9	35	12
	Political	19	2	23	4	18	8	9	2	12	3	—	—
	Sports	38	17	38	22	37	20	24	9	34	19	18	6
	Recreational	33	13	43	20	29	11	24	12	34	25	24	6
	Cultural	88	31	70	29	69	27	71	29	56	12	47	6
	No. in Sample	52		77		89		66		32		17	

B. Women	Activity	1. Higher Professional		2. Lower Professional		3. Highly Skilled		4. Skilled		5. Moderately Skilled		6. 7. Semi and Unskilled	
		P	L	P	L	P	L	P	L	P	L	P	L
	Religious	76	21	72	26	73	27	69	25	78	24	68	23
	Vocational	29	11	37	11	17	8	15	10	11	2	14	5
	Political	32	5	18	7	26	8	12	1	15	2	—	—
	Sports	18	4	16	6	13	6	18	8	11	—	—	—
	Recreational	28	7	19	7	27	11	16	4	9	2	—	—
	Cultural	70	26	67	22	65	20	48	15	43	17	27	9
	No. in Sample	82		144		158		143		46		22	

Chapter 9 Contd.

constructively about her new life, a WEA tutor reminded her about Hillcroft, and an advertisement in *The Lady* ('so tactfully worded and stimulating, and placed among the vacancies – just where one would be looking when contemplating a change') encouraged her to apply.

Mrs C had no recent contact with adult education, though many years ago she had been to the Swarthmore Centre in Leeds, where she was brought up. She had seen the Hillcroft advertisement in the *New Statesman* and shown it to her daughter, who was not interested. So she answered it herself. 'I had read most of the Russian classics – in translation – because my parents were born in Russia. The English classics, too. But I needed to come up to date to catch up with the authors my children talked about'. Mrs C is not typical of Hillcroft's students – a working-class woman with little schooling recruited by marriage to the milieu of the London intelligentsia and brought into contact with international figures like Ben-Gurion.

It was clear from the sheer vitality of their demeanour, and the importance for other women which they attached to our conversation, that they had had an exciting year at Hillcroft – feeling proud that they know how to set about expressing themselves on paper, orally or in paint, music or drama and having great respect for their tutors and fellow-students. What did they mean to do next? Miss A would improve the quality of her service to the National Adult School Union and return to her previous work. The painting and the residential experience together made Mrs. C arrange to go to the Elsinore International Folk High School to study fabric painting and Danish interior decorating. After that? Another course, perhaps at the Schweitzer Centre to improve her German. Mrs B was uncertain: 'I can run a home and keep house easily enough. But now

I'd like to do something more interesting which will employ some of the benefits I have had from Hillcroft'. She was disappointed to find that she could not get into teaching or librarianship, the two fields which interested her most. Although it is outside the scope of this report, the employment of older women needs more attention. It is clearly going to be in society's interest to regard these three (and their predecessors in the same age range) as at present exceptional, but as forerunners of large numbers of women who will, as of right, deliberately educate themselves for the second half of their lives. The impetus which Hillcroft has given them can be expected to see them through into their old age, but it makes them and will make others want employment opportunities which may not exist, though it might be for the general good that they should.

4. Unpublished material, quoted by permission of Dr Mark Abrams.
5. P. N. Molloy, *Old People's Welfare*, duplicated report from the NFCA, no date.
6. J. H. Sheldon, Presidential address to the Third International Gerontological Conference, 1954.

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7. In *Adult Education*, Summer 1957, p.47.
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10. Quoted from a private communication from the producer, Miss Janet Walters.

CLASSIFICATION OF OCCUPATIONS

GROUP 1 HIGHER PROFESSIONAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE WORKERS

Occupations which require university training to at least a three-year standard, and senior administrative occupations in commerce and industry.

Examples : medical practitioners ; graduate ministers of religion, engineers, architects and teachers ; higher management persons.

GROUP 2 LOWER PROFESSIONAL, TECHNICAL AND EXECUTIVE WORKERS

Jobs which require several years of specialized training, and in most cases a background of advanced education ; a variety of executive jobs of a more responsible kind and acumen. With a few exceptions they are of a 'white collar' kind.

Examples : non-graduate teachers, pharmacists, design draughtsmen ; hospital matrons ; factory managers ; advertising executives.

GROUP 3 HIGHLY SKILLED WORKERS

Craftsmen with special training and a fair amount of responsibility ; some of the more responsible and exacting commercial jobs.

Examples : Tool-makers, machine-shop foremen ; private secretaries, accounts clerks ; senior retail salesmen, sales representatives.

GROUP 4 SKILLED WORKERS

Workers with some degree of training (technical, clerical etc.).

Examples : fitters, turners, carpenters ; police constables ; shorthand typists, general clerks.

GROUP 5 MODERATELY SKILLED WORKERS

The less technical tradesmen, a wide range of the more skilled factory operatives, some of the lower-grade clerical workers, a range of store and transport workers, workers in certain of the personal services.

Examples : bricklayers, house-painters ; sheet-metal workers, shop assistants ; railway signalmen ; proprietress of lodging house ; boot repairers.

GROUP 6 SEMI-SKILLED WORKERS

Factory operatives engaged on semi-automatic machines, assembly etc. domestic, transport and personal service workers.

Examples : waiters, conductors, truck-drivers, deliverymen, postmen, porters.

GROUP 7 UNSKILLED WORKERS

Persons engaged in unskilled labour or coarse manual work.

Examples : automatic machine operators ; daily helps ; stokers, dockworkers, labourers.

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